PETER · WILLIAMSON
In the Dress of a Delaware Indian.

1 Tomohawk.
2 Scalping Knife.
3 Shot Bag.
4 Purse & Belt of Wampum.
5 Powder horn.
6 Indian Canoe.
7 Bush Fighting.
8 War Dance.

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12

FRENCH and INDIAN CRUELTY;

Exemplified in the

LIFE

And various viciſſitudes of Fortune

OF

PETER WILLIAMSON

Who was carried off from *Aberdeen* in his infancy, and ſold as a Slave in *Penſylvania*.

CONTAINING

The Hiſtory of the Author's Adventures in *N. America*; his Captivity among the Indians, and manner of his eſcape; the cuſtoms, dreſs, *&c.* of the Savages; military operations in that quarter; with a deſcription of the Britiſh Settlements, *&c. &c.*

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

An account of the Proceedings of the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen againſt him on his return to Scotland; A brief Hiſtory of his Proceſs againſt them before the Court of Seſſion, and a ſhort Diſſertation on KIDNAPPING.

The Fifth Edition, with large Improvements.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

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FRENCH and INDIAN CRUELTY.

THE reader is not here to expect a large and uſeleſs detail of the tranſactions of late years, in that part of the world, where, ever ſince my infancy, it has been my misfortune to have lived. Was it in my power, indeed, to ſet off with pompous diction, and embelliſh with artificial deſcriptions, what has ſo ingroſſed the attention of *Europe*, as well as the ſcenes of action for ſome years paſt, perhaps I might; but my poor pen, being wholly unfit for ſuch a taſk, and never otherwiſe employed than juſt for my own affairs and amuſement, while I had the pleaſure of living tranquil and undiſturbed, I muſt beg leave to deſiſt from ſuch an attempt; and, if ſuch is expected from me, claim the indulgence of that pardon which is never refuſed to thoſe incapacitated of performing what may be deſired of them. And, as a plain, impartial, and ſuccinct narrative of my own life and various viciſſitudes of fortune, is all I ſhall aim at, I ſhall herein confine myſelf to plain ſimple truth, and, in the dictates reſulting from an honeſt heart, give the reader no other entertainment than

what ſhall be matter of fact; and of ſuch things as have actually happened to me, or come to my own knowledge, in the ſphere of life, in which it has been my lot to be placed. Not, but I hope I may be allowed, now and then, to carry on my narrative from the informations I have received of ſuch things as relate to my deſign, though they have not been done or tranſacted in my preſence.

It being uſual in narratives like this, to give a ſhort account of the author's birth, education, and juvenile exploits, the ſame being looked upon as a neceſſary, or at leaſt ſatisfactory piece of information to the curious and inquiſitive reader; I ſhall, without boaſting of a family I am no way intitled to, or recounting adventures in my youth, to which I was entirely a ſtranger, in a ſhort manner, gratify ſuch curioſity; not expecting, as I ſaid before, to be admired for that elegance of ſtile and profuſion of words, ſo univerſally made uſe of in details and hiſtories of thoſe adventurers, who have of late years obliged the world with their anecdotes and memoirs; and which have had ſcarce any other exiſtence than in the brains of a bookſeller's or printer's *Garreteer*; who, from fewer incidents, and leſs ſurprizing matter than will be found in this ſhort narrative, have been, and are daily enabled, to ſpin and work out their elaborate performances to three or four volumes. That I, like them, publiſh this for ſupport, is true; but as I am too ſenſible, the major part of mankind will give much more to a bookſeller, to be in the faſhion, or ſatisfy their curioſity, in having or reading a new puffed up hiſtory or novel, than to a real object of diſtreſs, for an accurate and faithful account of a ſeries of misfortunes, I have thought it more adviſeable to confine myſelf as to ſize and price, than by making a larger volume, miſs that aſſiſtance

and

and relief, of which I at preſent am in ſo great need.

Know, therefore, that I was born in *Hirnley*, in the pariſh of *Aboyne* and county of *Aberdeen, North-Britain*; if not of rich, yet of reputable parents, who ſupported me in the beſt manner they could, as long as they had the happineſs of having me under their inſpection; but fatally for me, and to their great grief, as it afterwards proved, I was ſent to live with an aunt at *Aberdeen*, when under the years of pupillarity, playing on the key, with others of my companions, being of a ſtout robuſt conſtitution, I was taken notice of by two fellows belonging to a veſſel in the harbour, employed (as the trade then was) by ſome of the *worthy* merchants of the town, in that villainous and execrable practice called *kidnapping*; that is, ſtealing young children from their parents and ſelling them as ſlaves in the plantations abroad. Being marked out by thoſe monſters of impiety as their prey, I was eaſily cajoled on board the ſhip by them, where I was no ſooner got, than they conducted me between the decks, to ſome others they had kidnapped in the ſame manner. At that time, I had no ſenſe of the fate that was deſtined for me, and ſpent the time in childiſh amuſements with my fellow-ſufferers in the ſteerage, being never ſuffered to go upon deck whilſt the veſſel lay in the harbour; which was until ſuch a time as they had got in their loading, with a compliment of unhappy youths for carrying on their wicked commerce

In about a month's time the ſhip ſet ſail for *America*. The treatment we met with, and the trifling incidents which happened during the voyage, I hope I may be excuſed from relating, as not being, at that time, of an age ſufficient to remark any thing more than what muſt occur to every one on ſuch an occaſion. However, I cannot for-

get, that, when we arrived on the coaſt we were deſtined for, a hard gale of wind ſprung up from the S. E. and, to the captain's great ſurprize, (he not thinking he was near land) although having been eleven weeks on the paſſage, about twelve o'clock at night the ſhip ſtruck on a ſand bank, off Cape *May*, near the capes of *Delaware*, and to the great terror and affright of the ſhip's company, in a ſmall time, was almoſt full of water. The boat was then hoiſted out, into which the captain, and his fellow-villains, the crew, got with ſome difficulty, leaving me and my deluded companions to periſh; as they then naturally concluded inevitable death to be our fate. Often in my diſtreſſes and miſeries ſince, have I wiſhed that ſuch had been the conſequence, when in a ſtate of innocence! But Providence thought proper to reſerve me for future trials of its goodneſs. Thus abandoned and deſerted, without the leaſt proſpect of relief, but threatened every moment with death, did theſe villains leave us. The cries, the ſhrieks and tears of a parcel of infants, had no effect on, or cauſed the leaſt remorſe in the breaſts of theſe mercileſs wretches. Scarce can I ſay, to which to give the preference; whether to ſuch as theſe, who have had the opportunity of knowing the Chriſtian religion, or to the ſavages herein after diſcribed, who profane not the goſpel, or boaſt of humanity; and, if they act in a more brutal and butcherly manner, yet 'tis to their enemies, for the ſake of plunder and the rewards offered them; for their principles are alike; the love of ſordid gain being both their motives. The ſhip being on a ſand-bank, which did not give way to let her deeper, we lay in the ſame deplorable condition until morning: when, though we ſaw the land of Cape *May*, at about a mile's diſtance, we knew not what would be our fate.

The

The wind at length abated, and the captain (unwilling to loſe all her cargo) about 10 o'clock, ſent ſome of his crew in a boat to the ſhip's ſide to bring us on ſhore, where we lay in a ſort of a camp, made of the ſails of the veſſel and ſuch other things as they could get. The proviſions laſted us until we were taken in by a veſſel bound to *Philadelphia*; lying on this iſland, as well as I can recollect, near three weeks. Very little of the cargo was ſaved undamaged, and the veſſel intirely loſt.

When arrived and landed at *Philadelphia*, the capital of *Penſylvania*, the captain had ſoon people enough who came to buy us. He making the moſt of his villainous loading, after his diſaſter, ſold us at about 16 *l. per* head. What became of my unhappy companions, I never knew; but it was my lot to be ſold to one of my countrymen, whoſe name was *Hugh Wilſon*, a *North-Britain*, for the term of ſeven years, who had in his youth undergone the ſame fate as myſelf; having been kidnapped from St. *Johnſton* in *Scotland*. As I ſhall often have occaſion to mention *Philadelphia* during the courſe of my adventures, I ſhall, in this place, give a ſhort and conciſe deſcription of the fineſt city in *America*, and one of the beſt laid out in the world.

This city would have been a capital fit for an empire, had it been built and inhabited according to the proprietor's plan. Conſidering its late foundation, it is a large city, and moſt commodiouſly ſituated between *Delaware* and *Schuylkill*, two navigable rivers. The former being two miles broad, and navigable 300 miles for ſmall veſſels. It extends in length two miles from one river to the other. There are eight long ſtreets two miles in length, cut at right angles by ſixteen others, of one mile in length, all ſtrait and ſpacious. The houſes are ſtately, very numerous, (being near 3000) and ſtill

increasing, and all carried on regularly according to the first plan. It has two fronts to the water, one on the east side facing the *Schuylkill*, and that on the west facing the *Delaware*. The *Schuylkill* being navigable 800 miles above the falls, the eastern part is most populous, where the ware-houses, some three stories high, and wharfs are numerous and convenient. All the houses have large orchards and gardens belonging to them. The merchants that reside here are numerous and wealthy, many of them keeping their coaches, *&c.* In the centre of the city there is a space of ten acres, whereon are built the state house, market-house, and school-house. The former is built of brick, and has a prison under it. The streets have their names from the several sorts of timber common in *Pensylvania*: as *Mulberry-street*, *Sassafras-street*, *Chesnut-street*, *Beach street*, and *Cedar street*. The oldest church is *Christ-Church*, and has a numerous congregation; but the major part of the inhabitants, being at first Quakers, still continue so, who have several *Meeting-houses*, and may not improperly be called the church, as by law established, being the originals. The key is beautiful, and 200 feet square, to which a ship of 200 tons may lay her broad side. As the advantages this city may boast of, has rendered it one of the best trading towns out of the *British* empire; so in all probability it will increase in commerce and riches, if not prevented by party, faction, and religious feuds, which of late years have made it suffer considerably. The assemblies and courts of judicature are held here, as in all capitals. The *French* have no city like it in all *America*.

Happy was my lot in falling into my countryman's power, as he was, contrary to many others of his calling, a humane, worthy honest man. Having no children of his own, and commiserating my

my unhappy condition, he took great care of me until I was fit for buſineſs; and about the 12th year of my age, ſet me about little trifles; in which ſtate I continued until my 14th year, when I was more fit for harder work. During ſuch my idle ſtate, ſeeing my fellow-ſervants often reading and writing, it incited in me an inclination to learn, which I intimated to my maſter, telling him, I ſhould be very willing to ſerve a year longer than the contract by which I was bound obliged me, if he would indulge me in going to ſchool; this he readily agreed to, ſaying, that winter would be the beſt time. It being then ſummer, I waited with impatience for the other ſeaſon; but to make ſome progreſs in my deſign, I got a Primmer, and learned as much from my fellow-ſervants as I could. At ſchool, where I went every winter for five years, I made a tolerable proficiency, and have ever ſince been improving myſelf at leiſure hours. With this good maſter, I continued till I was ſeventeen years old, when he died, and, as a reward for my faithful ſervice, left me 200*l.* currency, which was then about 120*l.* ſterling, his beſt horſe, ſaddle, and all his wearing apparel.

Being now my own maſter, having money in my pocket, and all other neceſſaries, I employed myſelf in jobbing about the country, working for any that would employ me, for near ſeven years; when thinking I had money ſufficient to follow ſome better way of life, I reſolved to ſettle; but thought one ſtep neceſſary thereto, was to be married; for which purpoſe, I applied to the daughter of a ſubſtantial planter, and found my ſuit was not unacceptable to her, or her father, ſo that matters were ſoon concluded upon, and we married. My father-in-law, in order to eſtabliſh us in the world, in an eaſy, if not affluent manner, made me a deed of gift, of a tract of land, that lay (unhappily for me,

as

as it has ſince proved) on the frontiers of the province of *Penſylvania*, near the forks of *Delaware*, in *Berks* county, containing about 200 acres, thirty of which were well cleared, and fit for immediate uſe, whereon was a good houſe and barn. The place pleaſing me well, I ſettled on it; and though it coſt me the major part of my money, in buying ſtock, houſehold-furniture, and implements for out-door work; and happy as I was in a good wife, yet did my felicity laſt me not long: For about the year 1754, the *Indians* in the *French* intereſt, who had for a long time before raviſhed and deſtroyed other parts of *America* unmoleſted, I may very properly ſay, began to be very troubleſome on the frontiers of our province, where they generally appeared in ſmall ſkulking parties, with yellings, ſhoutings, and antic poſtures, inſtead of trumpets, and drums, committing great deveſtations. The *Penſylvanians* little imagined at firſt, that the *Indians* guilty of ſuch outrages and violences were ſome of thoſe who pretended to be in the *Engliſh* intereſt; which alas! proved to be too true to many of us: For like the *French* in *Europe*, without regard to faith or treaties, they ſuddenly break out into furious rapid outrages and devaſtations, but ſoon retire precipitately, having no ſtores or proviſions but what they meet with in their incurſions; ſome indeed carry a bag with biſcuit, or *Indian* corn therein, but not unleſs they have a long march to their deſtined place of action. And thoſe *French*, who were ſent to diſpoſſeſs us in that part of the world, being indefatigable in their duty, and continually contriving, and uſing all manner of ways and means to win the *Indians* to their intereſt, many of whom had been too negligent, and ſometimes, I may ſay, cruelly treated by thoſe who pretend to be their protectors and friends, found it no very difficult matter to get over to their intereſt, many who belonged to thoſe nations in

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amity with us: eſpecially as the rewards they gave them were ſo great, they paying for every ſcalp of an *Engliſh* perſon 15 *l.* ſterling.

Terrible and ſhocking to human nature were the barbarities daily committed by the ſavages, and are not to be parallelled in all the volumes of hiſtory! Scarce did a day paſs but ſome unhappy family or other fell victims to *French chicanery*, and ſavage cruelty. Terrible indeed it proved to me, as well as to many others; I that was now happy in an eaſy ſtate of life, bleſſed with an affectionate and tender wife, who was poſſeſſed of all amiable qualities, to enable me to go through this world with that peace and ſerenity of mind, which every Chriſtian wiſhes to poſſeſs, became on a ſudden one of the moſt unhappy and deplorable of mankind; ſcarce can I ſuſtain the ſhock which for ever recoils on me, at thinking on the laſt time of ſeeing that good woman. The fatal 2d of *October* 1754, ſhe that day went from home to viſit ſome of her relations; as I ſtaid up later than uſual, expecting her return, none being in the houſe beſides myſelf, how great was my ſurprize, terror and affright, when, about eleven o'clock at night, I heard the diſmal war-cry, or war-whoop of the ſavages, which they make on ſuch occaſions, and may be expreſſed *Woach, woach, ha, ha, hach woach*, and to my inexpreſſible grief, ſoon found my houſe was attacked by them; I flew to the chamber-window, and perceived them to be twelve in number. They making ſeveral attempts to come in, I aſked them what they wanted? They gave me no anſwer, but continued beating, and trying to get the door open. Judge then the condition I muſt be in, knowing the cruelty and mercileſs diſpoſition of thoſe ſavages ſhould I fall into their hands. To eſcape which dreadful misfortune, having my gun loaded in my hand, I threatened them with death, if they ſhould not deſiſt. But how

vain

vain and fruitleſs are the efforts of one man againſt the united force of ſo many! and of ſuch mercileſs, undaunted and blood thriſty monſters as I had here to deal with. One of them that could ſpeak a little *Engliſh*, threatened me in return, "That if I did "not come out, they would burn me alive in the "houſe;" telling me farther what I unhappily perceived, "That they were no friends to the "*Engliſh*, but if I would come out and ſurrender "myſelf priſoner, they would not kill me." My terror and diſtraction at hearing this is not to be expreſſed by words, nor eaſily emagined by any perſon, unleſs in the ſame condition. Little could I depend on the promiſes of ſuch creatures; and yet, if I did not, inevitable death, by being burnt alive, muſt be my lot. Diſtracted as I was in ſuch deplorable circumſtances, I choſe to rely on the uncertainty of their fallacious promiſes, rather than meet with certain death by rejecting them; and accordingly went out of my houſe with my gun in my hand, not knowing what I did or that I had it. Immediately on my approach they ruſhed on me like ſo many tygers, and inſtantly diſarmed me. Having me thus in their power, the mercileſs villains bound me to a tree near the door: they then went into the houſe and plundered and deſtroyed every thing there was in it, carrying off what moveables they could; the reſt, together with the houſe, which they ſet fire to, was conſumed before my eyes. The Barbarians not ſatisfied with this, ſet fire to my barn, ſtable, and out-houſes, wherein were about 200 buſhels of wheat, ſix cows, four horſes, and five ſheep, which underwent the ſame fate, being all intirely conſumed to aſhes. During the conflagration, to deſcribe the thoughts, the fears, and miſery that I felt, is utterly impoſſible, as it is even now to mention what I feel at the remembrance thereof.

Having

Having thus finiſhed the execrable buſineſs about which they came, one of the monſters came to me with a *Tomahawk** in his hand, threatening me with the worſt of deaths, if I would not willingly go with them, and be contented with their way of living. This I ſeemingly agreed to, promiſing to do every thing for them that lay in my power; truſting to Providence for the time when I might be delivered out of their hands. Upon this they untied me, and gave me a great load to carry on my back, under which I travelled all that night with them, full of the moſt terrible apprehenſions, and oppreſſed with the greateſt anxiety of mind, leſt my unhappy wife ſhould likewiſe have fallen a prey to theſe cruel monſters. At day-break, my infernal maſters ordered me to lay down my load, when tying my hands again round a tree with a ſmall cord, they forced the blood out of my fingers ends. They then kindled a fire near the tree whereto I was bound, which filled me with the moſt dreadful agonies, concluding I was going to be made a ſacrifice to their barbarity.

This narrative, O reader! may ſeem dry and tedious to you: My miſeries and misfortunes, great as they have been, may be conſidered only as what others have daily met with for years paſt; yet, on reflection, you can't help indulging me in the recital of them: For to the unfortunate and diſtreſſed, recounting our miſeries, is, in ſome ſort, an alleviation of them.

Permit me therefore to proceed; not by recounting to you the deplorable condition I then was in,

* A TOMAHAWK, is a kind of hatchet, made ſomething like our Plaiſterer's hammers, about two feet long, handle and all. To take up the hatchet (or TOMAHAWK) among them, is to declare war. They generally uſe it after firing their guns, by ruſhing on their enemies, and fracturing or cleaving their ſculls with it, and very ſeldom fail of killing at the firſt blow.

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for that is more than can be diſcribed to you, by one who thought of nothing leſs than being immediately put to death in the moſt excruciating manner theſe devils could invent. The fire being thus made, they for ſome time danced round me after their manner, with various odd motions and antic geſtures, whooping, hollowing, and crying, in a frightful manner, as it is their cuſtom. Having ſatisfied themſelves in this ſort of their mirth, they proceeded in a more tragical manner; taking the burning coals and ſticks, flaming with fire at the ends, holding them near my face, head, hands, and feet, with a deal of monſtrous pleaſure and ſatisfaction; and at the ſame time threatening to burn me intirely, if I made the leaſt noiſe or cried out: Thus tortured as I was, almoſt to death I ſuffered their brutal pleaſure without being allowed to vent my inexpreſſible anguiſh otherwiſe than by ſhedding ſilent tears; even which, when theſe inhuman tormentors obſerved, with a ſhocking pleaſure and alacrity, they would take freſh coals, and apply near my eyes, telling me my face was wet, and that they would dry it for me, which indeed they cruelly did. How I underwent theſe tortures I have here faintly deſcribed, has been matter of wonder to me many times; but God enabled me to wait with more than common patience for a deliverance I daily prayed for.

Having at length ſatisfied their brutal pleaſure, they ſat down round the fire, and roaſted their meat, of which they had robbed my dwelling. When they had prepared it, and ſatisfied their voracious appetites, they offered ſome to me; though it is eaſily imagined I had but little apetite to eat, after the tortures and miſeries I had undergone; yet, was I forced to ſeem pleaſed with what they offered me, leſt by refuſing it, they had again reaſſumed their helliſh practices. What I could not eat, I contrived

trived to get between the bark and the tree, where I was fixed, they having unbound my hands till they imagined I had eat all they gave me; but then they again bound me as before; in which deplorable condition was I forced to continue all that day. When the ſun was ſet, they put out the fire, and covered the aſhes with leaves, as is their uſual cuſtom, that the white people might not diſcover any traces or ſigns of their having been there.

Thus had theſe barbarous wretches finiſhed their firſt diabolical piece of work; and ſhocking as it may ſeem to the humane *Engliſh* heart, yet what I underwent was but trifling, in compariſon to the torments and miſeries which I was afterwards an eye witneſs of being inflicted on others of my unhappy fellow creatures.

Going from thence along by the river *Suſquehana* for the ſpace of ſix miles, loaded as I was before, we arrived at a ſpot near the *Apalachian* mountains, or *Blue-Hills*, where they hid their plunder under logs of wood.——And, oh, ſhocking to relate! from thence did theſe helliſh monſters proceed to a neighbouring houſe, occupied by one *Jacob Snider*, and his unhappy family, conſiſting of his wife, five children, and a young man his ſervant. They ſoon got admittance into the unfortunate man's houſe, where they immediately, without the leaſt remorſe, and with more than brutal cruelty, *ſcalped* * the

* SCALPING, is taking off the ſkin from the top of the head; which they perform with a long knife that they hang round their neck, and always carry with them. They cut the ſkin round as much of the head as they think proper, ſometimes quite round from the neck and forehead, then take it in their fingers and pluck it off, and often leave the unhappy creature, ſo ſerved, to die in a moſt miſerable manner. Some, who are not cut too deep in the temples or ſcull, live in horrid torments many hours, and ſometimes a day or two after. The ſcalps, or ſkins thus taken off, they preſerve and carry home in triumph, where they receive, as is ſaid before, a conſiderable ſum for every one.

tender parents and the unhappy children: Nor could the tears, the ſhrieks, or cries of theſe unhappy victims prevent their horrid maſſacre: For having thus ſcalped them, and plundered the houſe of every thing that was moveable, they ſet fire to the ſame, where the poor creatures met their final doom amidſt the flames, the helliſh miſcreants ſtanding at the door, or as near the houſe as the flames would permit them, rejoicing, and echoing back in their diabolical manner, the piercing cries, heart-rending groans, and paternal and affectionate ſoothings, which iſſued from this moſt horrid ſacrifice of an innocent family. Sacrifice! I think I may properly call it, to the aggrandizing the ambition of a king, who wrongly ſtiles himſelf *Moſt Chriſtian!* For, had theſe ſavages been never tempted with the alluring bait of all powerful gold, myſelf as well as hundreds of others, might ſtill have lived moſt happily in our ſtations. If Chriſtians countenance, nay, hire thoſe wretches, to live in a continual repetition of plunder, rapine, murder, and conflagration, in vain are miſſionaries ſent, or ſums expended for the propagation of the goſpel. But theſe ſentiments, with many others, muſt before the end of this narrative occur to every humane heart.——Therefore to proceed; not contented with what theſe infernals had already done, they ſtill continued their inordinate villainy, in making a general conflagration of the barn and ſtables, together with all the corn, horſes, cows, and every thing on the place.

Thinking the young man belonging to this unhappy family, would be of ſome ſervice to them, in carrying part of their helliſh-acquired plunder, they ſpared his life, and loaded him and myſelf with what they had here got, and again marched to the *Blue-Hills* where they ſtowed their goods as before. My fellow-ſufferer could not long bear the cruel treatment

ment which we were both obliged to ſuffer, and complaining bitterly to me, of his being unable to proceed any further, I endeavoured to conſole him, as much as lay in my power, to bear up under his afflictions and wait with patience, 'till, by the divine aſſiſtance, we ſhould be delivered out of their clutches; but all in vain, for he ſtill continued his moans and tears, which one of the ſavages preceiving, as we travelled on, inſtantly came up to us, and with his *tomahawk*, gave him a blow on the head, which felled the unhappy youth to the ground, where they immediately *ſcalped* and left him. The ſuddenneſs of this murder, ſhocked me to that degree, that I was in a manner like a ſtatue, being quite motionleſs, expecting my fate would ſoon be the ſame: However, recovering my diſtracted thoughts, I diſſembled the uneaſineſs and anguiſh which I felt as well as I could from the Barbarians; but ſtill, ſuch was the terror I was under, that for ſome time I ſcarce knew the days of the week, or what I did; ſo that at this period, life did, indeed, become a burthen to me, and I regretted my being ſaved from my firſt perſecutors, the ſailors.

The horrid fact being compleated, they kept on their courſe near the mountains, where they lay ſkulking four or five days, rejoicing at the plunder and ſtore they had got. When proviſions became ſcarce, they made their way towards *Suſquehana*; where, ſtill to add to the many barbarities they had already committed, paſſing near another houſe inhabited by an unhappy old man, whoſe name was *John Adams*, with his wife and four ſmall children; and meeting with no reſiſtance, they immediately *ſcalped* the unhappy wife and her four children, before the good old man's eyes. Inhumane and horrid as this was, it did not ſatiate them; for when they had murdered the poor woman, they acted with her in ſuch a brutal manner, as decency, or the

remembrance of the crime, will not permit me to mention; and this even before the unhappy husband, who, not being able to avoid the ſight, and incapable of affording her the leaſt relief, intreated them to put an end to his miſerable being: but they were as deaf, and regardleſs to the tears, prayers, and intreaties of this venerable ſufferer, as they had been to thoſe of the others, and proceeded in their helliſh purpoſe of burning and deſtroying his houſe, barn, corn, hay, cattle, and every thing the poor man a few hours before was maſter of. Having ſaved what they thought proper from the flames, they gave the old man, feeble, weak, and in the miſerable condition he then was, as well as myſelf, burthens to carry, and loading themſelves likewiſe with bread and meat, purſued their journey on towards the *Great Swamp*; where being arrived, they lay for eight or nine days, ſometimes diverting themſelves, in exerciſing the moſt atrocious and barbarous cruelties on their unhappy victim, the old man: ſometimes they would ſtrip him naked, and paint him all over with various ſorts of colours, which they extracted, or made from herbs and roots: at other times, they would pluck the white hairs from his venerable head, and tauntingly tell him, *He was a fool for living ſo long, and that they ſhould ſhew him kindneſs in putting him out of the world*; to all which the poor creature could but vent his ſighs, his tears, his moans, and intreaties, that, to my affrighted imagination, were enough to penetrate a heart of adamant, and ſoften the moſt obdurate ſavage. In vain, alas! were all his tears, for daily did they tire themſelves with the various means they tried to torment him; ſometimes tying him to a tree, and whipping him; at others, ſcorching his furrowed cheeks with red-hot coals, and burning his legs, quite to the knees: but the good old man inſtead of repining, or wickedly arraign-

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ing the divine juſtice, like many others in ſuch caſes even in the greateſt agonies, inceſſantly offered up his prayers to the Almighty, with the moſt fervent thankſgivings for his former mercies, and hoping the flames, then ſurrounding and burning his aged limbs, would ſoon ſend him to the bliſful manſions of the juſt, to be a partaker of the bleſſings there. And, during ſuch his pious ejaculations, his infernal plagues would come round him, mimicking his heart-rending groans, and piteous wailings. One night after he had been thus tormented, whilſt he and I were ſitting together condoling each other at the misfortunes and miſeries we daily ſuffered, twenty-five other *Indians* arrived, bringing with them twenty ſcalps and three priſoners who had unhappily fallen into their hands in *Cammocojigge*, a ſmall town near the river *Suſquehana*, chiefly inhabited by the *Iriſh*. Theſe priſoners gave us ſome ſhocking accounts of the murders and devaſtations committed in their parts. The various and complicated actions of theſe Barbarians would intirely fill a large volume; but what I have already written, with a few other inſtances which I ſhall ſelect from their information, will enable the reader to gueſs at the horrid treatment the *Engliſh*, and *Indians* in their intereſt, have ſuffered for many years paſt. I ſhall therefore only mention in a brief manner thoſe that ſuffered near the ſame time with myſelf. This party, who now joined us, had it not, I found, in there power, to begin their wickedneſs as ſoon as thoſe who viſited my habitation; the firſt of their tragedies being on the 25th day of *October*, 1754, when *John Lewis*, with his wife, and three ſmall children, fell ſacrifices to their cruelty, and were miſerably *ſcalped* and murdered; his houſe, barn, and every thing he poſſeſſed, being burnt and deſtroyed. On the 28th *Jacob Miller*, with his wife and ſix of his family, together with

every thing on his plantation, underwent the ſame fate. The 30th, the houſe, mill, barn, twenty head of cattle, two teams of horſes, and every thing belonging to the unhappy *George Folke*, met with the like treatment, himſelf, wife, and all his miſerable family, conſiſting of nine in number, being inhumanly *ſcalped*, then cut in pieces, and given to the ſwine, which devoured them. I ſhall give another inſtance of the numberleſs and unheard of barbarities they related of theſe ſavages, and proceed to their own tragical end. In ſhort, one of the ſubſtantial traders, belonging to the province, having buſineſs that called him ſome miles up the country, fell into the hands of theſe devils, who not only *ſcalped* him, but immediately roaſted him before he was dead; then, like *Canibals* for want of other food, eat his whole body, and of his head made what they called an *Indian* pudding.

From theſe few inſtances of ſavage cruelty, the deplorable ſituation of the defenceleſs inhabitants, and what they hourly ſuffered in that part of the globe muſt ſtrike the utmoſt horror to a humane ſoul, and cauſe in every breaſt the utmoſt deteſtation, not only againſt the authors of ſuch tragic ſcenes, but againſt thoſe who thro' perfidy, inattention, or puſillanimous and erroneous principles, ſuffered theſe ſavages at firſt, unrepelled, or even unmoleſted, to commit ſuch outrages and incredible depredations and murders. For no torments, no barbarities that can be exerciſed on the human ſacrifices, they get into their power, are left untried or omitted.

The three priſoners that were brought with theſe additional forces, conſtantly repining at their lot, and almoſt dead with their exceſſive hard treatment, contrived at laſt to make their eſcape; but being far from their own ſettlements, and not knowing

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the country, were ſoon after met by ſome others of the tribes or nations at war with us, and brought back to their diabolical maſters, who greatly rejoiced at having them again in their infernal power. The poor creatures almoſt famiſhed for want of ſuſtenance, having had none during the time of their elopement, were no ſooner in the clutches of the Barbarians, than two of them were tied to a tree, and a great fire made round them, where they remained till they were terribly ſcorched and burnt; when one of the villains with his ſcalping knife, ript open their bellies, took out their entrails, and burnt them before their eyes, whilſt the others were cutting, piercing, and tearing the fleſh from their breaſts, hands, arms, and legs, with red-hot irons, 'till they were dead. The third unhappy victim was reſerved a few hours longer, to be, if poſſible, ſacrificed in a more cruel manner; his arms were tied cloſe to his body, and a hole being dug deep enough for him to ſtand upright, he was put therein, and earth ram'd and beat in all round his body up to his neck, ſo that his head only appeared above ground; they then ſcalp'd him, and there let him remain for three or four hours in the greateſt agonies; after which they made a ſmall fire near his head, cauſing him to ſuffer the moſt excruciating torments imaginable, whilſt the poor creature could only cry for mercy in killing him immediately, for his brains were boiling in his head: Inexorable to all his plaints they continued the fire, whilſt ſhocking to behold! his eyes guſhed out of their ſockets; and ſuch agonizing torments did the unhappy creature ſuffer for near two hours, 'till he was quite dead! They then cut off his head, and buried it with the other bodies; my taſk being to dig the graves, which feeble and terrified as I was, the dread of ſuffering the ſame fate, enabled me to do. I ſhall not here take up the reader's time, in vainly at-

attempting to diſcribe what I felt on ſuch an occaſion, but continue my narrative, as more equal to my abilities.

A great ſnow now falling, the Barbarians were a little fearful, leaſt the white people ſhould by their traces, find out their ſkulking retreats, which obliged them to make the beſt of their way to their winter-quarters, about 200 miles farther from any plantations or inhabitants; where, after a long and tedious journey, being almoſt ſtarved, I arrived with this infernal crew. The place where we were to reſt, in their tongue, is called *Alamingo*. There they found a number of *Wigwams** full of their women and children. Dancing, ſinging, and ſhooting were their general amuſements; and in all their feſtivals and dances, they relate what ſucceſſes they have had, and what damages they have ſuſtained in their expeditions; in which I became part of their theme. The ſeverity of the cold increaſing, they ſtript me of my cloaths for their own uſe, and gave me ſuch as they uſually wore themſelves, being a piece of blanket, a pair of *Mogganes*, or ſhoes, with a yard of coarſe cloth, to put round me inſtead of breeches To deſcribe their dreſs and manner of living may not be altogether unacceptable to ſome of my readers, but as the ſize of this book will not permit me to be ſo particular as I might otherwiſe be, I ſhall juſt obſerve;

That they in general wear a white blanket, which in war time they paint with various figures; but particularly the leaves of trees, in order to deceive their enemies when in the woods. Their *Mogganes* are made of deer-ſkins, and the beſt ſort have them

* WIGWAMS, are the names they give their houſes, which are no more than little huts, made with three or four forked ſtaves droſe into the ground, and cover'd with deer or other ſkins; or for want of them with large leaves and earth.

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bound round the edges with little beads and ribbands. On their legs they wear pieces of blue cloath for ſtockings, ſomething like our ſoldiers ſpatter-daſhes; they reach higher than their knees, but not lower than their ancles; they eſteem them eaſy to run in. Breeches they never wear, but inſtead thereof two pieces of linen, one before and another behind. The better ſort have ſhirts of the fineſt linen they can get, and to theſe ſome wear ruffles; but theſe they never put on, till they have painted them of various colours, which they get from the Pecone root, and bark of trees, and never pull them off to waſh, but wear them till they fall in pieces. They are very proud, and take great delight in wearing trinkets; ſuch as ſilver plates round their wriſts and necks, with ſeveral ſtrings of *Wampum* (which is made of cotton, interwove with pebbles, cockle-ſhells, &c) down to their breaſts; and from their ears and noſes they have rings and beads, which hang dangling an inch or two. The men have no beards, to prevent which they uſe certain inſtruments and tricks as ſoon as it begins to grow. The hair of their heads is managed differently, ſome pluck out and deſtroy all, except a lock hanging from the crown of the head, which they interweave with *Wampum* and feathers of various colours. The women wear it very long, twiſted down their backs, with beads, feathers, and *Wampum;* and on their heads moſt of them wear little coronets of braſs or copper: round their middle they wear a blanket inſtead of a petticoat. The females are very chaſte, and conſtant to their huſbands; and if any young maiden ſhould happen to have a child before marriage, ſhe is never eſteemed afterwards. As for their food they get it chiefly by hunting and ſhooting, and boil, broil, or roaſt all the meat they eat. Their ſtanding-diſh conſiſts of *Indian* corn ſoaked then bruiſ'd and boiled over a gentle fire,

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for ten or twelve hours. Their bread is likewiſe made of this, wild oats, or ſun-flower ſeeds. Set meals they never regard, but eat when they are hungry. Their gun, *Tomahawk*, ſcalping knife, powder and ſhot, are all they have to carry with them in time of war; bows and arrows being ſeldom uſed by them. They generally in war decline open engagements; buſh-fighting or ſkulking is their diſcipline; and they are brave when engaged, having great fortitude in enduring tortures and death. No people have a greater love of liberty, or affection to their relations; but they are the moſt implacably vindictive people upon the earth, for they revenge the death of any relation, or any great affront, whenever occaſion preſents, let the diſtance of time or place be never ſo remote. To all which I may add what the reader has already obſerved, that they are inhumanly cruel. But, ſome *other* nations might be more happy, if, in ſome inſtances, they copied them, and made *wiſe conduct, courage, and perſonal ſtrength*, the *chief* recommendations for war-captains, or *Werowances*, as they call them. In times of peace they viſit the plantations inhabited by the whites, to whom they ſell baſkets, ladles, ſpoons, and other ſuch trifles, which they are very expert in making. When night comes, if admitted into any houſe, they beg leave to lie down by the fire-ſide, chuſing that place rather than any other, which is ſeldom refuſed them, if ſober, for then they are honeſt; but if drunk, are very dangerous and troubleſome, if people enough are not in the houſe to quell them. Nor would they at any time be guilty of ſuch barbarous depredations as they are, did not thoſe calling themſelves Chriſtians, intice them thereto with ſtrong liquors, which they are vaſtly fond of; as well as by the pecuniary rewards which they give for the ſcalps. If ambition cannot be gratified, or ſuperiority obtained, otherwiſe than by the deaths of thouſands; would

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it not, in thoſe who ſeek ſuch airy phantoms, and are ſo inordinately fond of their fellow creatures lives, ſavour a litle more of humanity to have them killed inſtantly, and, if they muſt have proofs of murder, ſcalped afterwards? than by allowing and encouraging ſuch mercileſs treatment, render themſelves as obnoxious, cruel, and barbarous, to a humane mind, as the very ſavages themſelves. However, they ſometimes ſuffer by their plots and chicanery laid for the deſtruction of others; it often happening that the traders or emiſſaries ſent to allure them to the execution of their ſchemes, rightly fall victims themſelves; for, as they always carry with them horſe-loads of rum, which the *Indians* are fond of, they ſoon get drunk, quarrelſome, and wicked, and, in their fury, often kill and deſtroy their tempters.: A juſt reward for their wicked deſigns! nay, it has ſuch an effect on them, that when ſo intoxicated, they even burn and conſume all their own effects, beating, wounding, and ſometimes killing their wives and children: But, in diſputes among themſelves when ſober, they are very tenacious of decorum, never allowing more than one to ſpeak at a time. Prophane ſwearing they know not in their own language how to expreſs, but are very fond of the *French* and *Engliſh* oaths.

The old people, who are by age and infirmities rendered incapable of being ſerviceable to the community, they put out of the world in a barbarous and extraordinary manner; an inſtance of which I had whilſt among them, an opportunity of ſeeing, practiſed on an old *Indian*. He being, through age, feeble and weak, and his eyes failing him ſo that he was unable to get his living eitheir by hunting or ſhooting; he was ſummoned to appear before ſeveral of the leading ones, who were to be his judges. Before whom being come, and having nothing to ſay for himſelf, (as how indeed could

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he prove himſelf to be young) they very formally, and with a ſeeming degree of compaſſion, paſſed ſentence on him to be put to death. This was ſoon after executed on him in the following manner: He was tied naked to a tree, and a boy who was to be his executioner, ſtood ready with a *Tomahawk* in his hands; to beat his brains out: but when the young monſter came to inflict the ſentence he was ſo ſhort of ſtature that he could not lift the *Tomahawk* high enough; upon which he was held up by ſome others, a great concourſe being preſent; and then, though the young devil laid on with all his ſtrength, he was not for ſome time able to fracture the old man's ſcull, ſo that it was near an hour before he was dead. Thus are they from their youth inured to barbarity!

When they found no remains of life in him, they put him into a hole dug in the ground for that purpoſe, in which he ſtood upright. Into his left-hand they put an old gun, and hung a ſmall powder horn and ſhort-bag about his ſhoulders, and a ſtring of wampum round his neck; and into his right hand a little ſilk purſe with a bit of money in it; then filled the hole round, and covered him over with earth. This I found to be the uſual manner of treating the old of both ſexes; only that the women are killed by young girls, and put into the ground with nothing but a ladle in one hand, and a wooden diſh in the other.

They are very ſtrict in puniſhing offenders, eſpecially ſuch as commit crimes againſt any of the royal families. They never hang any: but thoſe ſentenced to death are generally bound to a ſtake, and a great fire made round them: but not ſo near as to burn them immediately, for they ſometimes remain roaſting in the middle of the flames for two or three days before they are dead.

After

After this long digreſſion, it is time to return to the detail of my own affairs----At *Alamingo* was I kept near two months, until the ſnow was off the ground. A long time to be amongſt ſuch creatures, and naked as I almoſt was. Whatever thoughts I might have of making my eſcape, to carry them into execution was impracticable, being ſo far from any plantations or white people, and the ſevere weather rendering my limbs in a manner quite ſtiff and motionleſs; however I contrived to defend myſelf againſt the inclemency of the weather as well as I could, by making myſelf a little *Wigwam*, with the bark of the trees, covering the ſame with earth, which made it reſemble a cave; and, to prevent the ill effects of the cold which penetrated into it, I was forced to keep a good fire always near the door.

Thus did I for near two months endure ſuch hardſhips of cold and hunger as had hitherto been unknown to me. My liberty of going about was, indeed, more than I could have expected, but they well knew the impracticability of my eloping from them. Seeing me outwardly eaſy and ſubmiſſive, they would ſometimes give me a little meat, but my chief food was *Indian* corn, dreſſed as I have above deſcribed. Notwithſtanding ſuch their civility, the time paſſed ſo tedious on that I almoſt began to diſpair of ever regaining my liberty, or ſeeing my few relations again; which, with the anxiety and pain I ſuffered on account of my dear wife, often gave me inexpreſſible concern.

At length the time arrived when they were preparing themſelves for another expedition againſt the planters and white people; but before they ſet out, they were joined by many other *Indians* from fort *Du Queſne*, well ſtored with powder and ball they had received from the *French*.

As ſoon as the ſnow was quite gone, and no traces of their vile foot-ſteps could be preceived, they ſet forth on their journey towards the back parts of the province of *Penſylvania*, and leaving their wives and children behind in their *Wigwams*. They were now a terrible and formidable body, amounting to near 150. My duty was to carry what they thought proper to load me with, but they never intruſted me with a gun. We marched on ſeveral days without any thing particular occurring, almoſt famiſhed for want of proviſions; for my part I had nothing but a few ſtalks of *Indian* corn, which I was glad to eat dry: Nor did the *Indians* themſelves fare much better, for as we drew near the plantations they were afraid to kill any game, leaſt the noiſe of their guns ſhould alarm the inhabitants.

When we again arrived at the *Blue Hills*, about 30 miles from *Cannocojigge* the *Iriſh* ſettlement before-mentioned, we encamped for three days, though God knows we had neither tents, nor any thing elſe to defend us from the inclemency of the air, having nothing to lie on by night but the graſs. Their uſual method of lodging, pitching, or encamping, by night, being in parcels of ten or twelve men to a fire, where they lie upon the graſs or buſhes, wrapt up in a blanket, with their feet to the fire.

During our ſtay here a ſort of council of war was held, when it was agreed to divide themſelves into companies of about twenty men each; after which every captain marched with his party where he thought proper. I ſtill belonged to my old maſters, but was left behind on the mountains with ten *Indians*, to ſtay until the reſt ſhould return; not thinking it proper to carry me nearer to *Cannocojigge*, or the other plantations.

Here being left I began to meditate on my eſcape, and though I knew the country round extremely well, having been often thereabouts, with my

my companions hunting deer, and other beaſts; yet was I very cautious of giving the leaſt ſuſpicions of ſuch my intentions. However the third day after the grand body left us, my companions or keepers thought proper to viſit the mountains in ſearch of game for their ſubſiſtance, leaving me bound in ſuch a manner that I could not eſcape: At night when they returned, having unbound me, we all ſat down together to ſupper on two Pole Cats, being what they had killed, and ſoon after (being greatly fatigued with their day's excurſion) they compoſed themſelves to reſt as uſual. Obſerving them to be in that ſomniferous ſtate, I tried various ways to ſee whether it was a ſcheme to prove my intentions or not, but after making a noiſe and walking about, ſometimes touching them with my feet, I found there was no fallacy. My heart then exulted with joy at ſeeing a time come that I might in all probability be delivered from my captivity; but this joy was ſoon damped by the dread of being diſcovered by them, or taken by any ſtraggling parties. To prevent which I reſolved if poſſible to get one of their guns, and, if diſcovered, to die in my defence rather than be taken; for that purpoſe I made various efforts to get one from under their heads (where they always ſecured them,) but in vain. Fruſtrated in this my firſt eſſay towards regaining my liberty, I dreaded the thoughts of carrying my deſign into execution: yet, after a little conſideration, and truſting myſelf to the divine protection, I ſet forwards naked and defenceleſs as I was. A raſh and dangerous enterprize! Such was my terror, however, that in going from them I halted and pauſed every four or five yards, looking fearfully towards the ſpot where I had left them, leſt they ſhould awake and miſs me; but when I was about two hundred yards from them, I mended my pace and made as much haſte as I could to the

foot of the mountains; when on a ſudden I was ſtruck with the greateſt terror and amaze at hearing the wood-cry, as it is called, and may be expreſſed *Jo hau! Jo-hau!* which the ſavages I had left were making, accompanied with the moſt hideous cries and howlings they could utter. The bellowing of lyons, the ſhrieks of hyænas, or the roaring of tygers, would have been muſic to my ears, in compariſon to the ſounds that then ſaluted them. They having now miſſed their charge, I concluded that they would ſoon ſeparate themſelves and hie in quеſt of me. The more my terror increaſed the faſter did I puſh on, and ſcarce knowing where I trod, drove through the woods with the utmoſt precipitation, ſometimes falling and bruiſing myſelf, cutting my feet and legs againſt the ſtones, in a miſerable manner; but though faint and maimed as I was I continued my flight until break of day, when, without having any thing to ſuſtain nature but a little corn left, I crept into a hollow tree, in which I lay very ſnug, and returned my prayers and thanks to the Divine Being, that had thus far favoured my eſcape. But my repoſe was in a few hours deſtroyed at hearing the voices of the ſavages near the place where I was hid, threatening and talking how they would uſe me, if they got me again; that I was before too ſenſible of, to have the leaſt reſt eitheir in body or mind ſince I had left them. However they at laſt left the ſpot where I heard them, and I remained in my circular aſylum all that day without further moleſtation.

At night I ventured forwards again, frightened and trembling at every buſh I paſt, thinking each twig that touched me to be a ſavage. The third day I concealed myſelf in the like manner, and at night I travelled on in the ſame deplorable condition keeping off the main road uſed by the *Indians*, as much as poſſible, which made my journey many miles

miles longer, and more painful and irkſome than I can expreſs. But how ſhall I deſcribe the fear, terror, and ſhock, that I felt on the fourth night, when, by the ruſtling I made among the leaves, a party of *Indians*, that lay round a ſmall fire which I did not preceive, ſtarted from the ground, and ſeizing their arms run from the fire amongſt the woods. Whether to move forward or reſt where I was I knew not, ſo diſtracted was my imagination. In this melancholy ſtate revolving in my thoughts the now inevitable fate I thought waited on me, to my great conſternation and joy I was relieved by a parcel of ſwine that made towards the place I gueſſed the ſavages to be; who, on ſeeing the hogs, conjectured that their alarm had been occaſioned by them, and very merrily returned to the fire, and lay down to ſleep as before. As ſoon as I perceived my enemies ſo diſpoſed of, with more cautious ſtep and ſilent tread I purſued my courſe, ſweating (though winter and ſeverely cold) with the fear I had been juſt relieved from. Bruiſed, cut, mangled, and terrified as I was, I ſtill, through the divine aſſiſtance, was enabled to purſue my journey until break of day, when thinking myſelf far off from any of theſe miſcreants I ſo much dreaded, I lay down under a great log, and ſlept undiſturbed until about noon, when getting up I reached the ſummit of a great hill, with ſome difficulty, and looking out if I could ſpy any habitations of white people, to my unutterable joy I ſaw ſome, which I gueſſed to be about ten miles diſtance.

This pleaſure was in ſome meaſure abated, by not being able to get among them that night. Therefore, when evening approached, I again recommended myſelf to the Almighty, and compoſed my wearied mangled limbs to reſt. In the morning as ſoon as I awoke, I continued my journy towards the neareſt cleared lands I had ſeen the day

before, and about four o'clock in the afternoon arrived at the houſe of *John Bell*, an old acquaintance, where, knocking at the door, his wife, who opened it, ſeeing me in ſuch a frightful condition, flew from me like lightening ſcreaming into the houſe. This alarmed the whole family, who immediately fled to their arms, and I was ſoon accoſted by the maſter with his gun in his hand. But on my aſſuring him of my innocence as to any wicked intentions, and making myſelf known (for he before took me to be an *Indian*) he immediately careſſed me, as did all his family, with a deal of friendſhip at finding me alive; they having all been informed of my being murdered by the ſavages ſome months before. No longer now able to ſupport my fatigued and worn out ſpirits I fainted and fell to the ground. From which ſtate having recovered me, and perceiving the weak and famiſhed condition I then was in, they ſoon gave me ſome refreſhment, but let me partake of it very ſparingly, fearing the ill effects too much at once would have on me. They for two or three nights very affectionately ſupplied me with all neceſſaries, and carefully attended me untill my ſpirits and limbs were pretty well recruited, and I thought myſelf able to ride, when I borrowed of theſe good people (whoſe kindneſs merits my moſt grateful returns) a horſe and ſome clothes, and ſet forward for my father-in-law's houſe in *Cheſter* county, about 140 miles from thence, where I arrived on the 4th day of *January* 1755, but ſcarce one of the family could credit their eyes, believing with the people I had lately left, that I had fallen a prey to the *Indians*.

Great was the joy and ſatisfaction wherewith I was received and embraced by the whole family; but, oh, what was my anguiſh and trouble, when on enquiring for my dear wife I found ſhe had been dead two months. This fatal news, as every humane

mane reader muſt imagine, greatly leſſened the joy and rapture I otherwiſe ſhould have felt at my deliverance from the dreadful ſtate and captivity I had been in.

The news of my happy arrival at my father-in-law's houſe, after ſo long and ſtrange an abſence, was ſoon ſpread round the neighbouring plantations by the country people who continually viſited me, being very deſirous of hearing and eagerly enquiring an account of my treatment and manner of living among the *Indians*. In all which I ſatisfied them. Soon after this my arrival I was ſent for by his excellency Mr. *Morris*, the governor, a worthy gentleman, who examined me very particularly as to all incidents relating to my captivity, and eſpecially in regard to the *Indians*, who had firſt taken me away, whether they were *French* or *Engliſh* parties. I aſſured his excellency they were of thoſe who profeſſed themſelves to be friends of the former; and informed him of the many barbarous and inhuman actions I had been witneſs to among them, on the frontiers of the province; and alſo that they were daily increaſing by others of our pretended friends joining them; that they were all well ſupplied by the *French* with arms and ammunition, and greatly encouraged by them in their continual excurſions and barbarities, not only in having extraordinary premiums for ſuch ſcalps as they ſhould take and carry home with them at their return, but great preſents of all kinds, beſides rum, powder, ball, &c. before they ſallied forth. Having ſatisfied his excellency in ſuch particulars as he requeſted, the ſame being put into writing, I ſwore to the contents thereof, as may be ſeen by thoſe who doubt of my veracity in the public papers of that time, as well in *England* as in *Philadelphia*. Having done with me, Mr. *Morris* gave me three pounds, and ſent the affidavit to the aſſembly who were then ſitting in the ſtate-houſe at *Philadelphia*, concluding on proper meaſures to check the depredations

tions of the ſavages, and put a ſtop to the barbarous hoſtilities of the deſtreſſed inhabitants, who daily ſuffered death in a moſt deplorable condition; beſides being obliged to abſcond their plantations, and the country being left deſtitute for ſeveral hundred miles on the frontiers, and the poor ſufferers could have no relief, by reaſon of the diſputes between the governor and the aſſembly. The former was led by the inſtructions of the proprietor, which was intirely againſt the intereſt of the province, ſo that it cauſed great confuſion among the people to ſee the country ſo deſtroyed, and no preparations making for its defence.

However on receiving this intelligence from his excellency, they immediately ſent for me. When I arrived I was conducted into the lower-houſe, where the aſſembly then ſat, and was there interrogated by the ſpeaker, very particularly as to all I had before given the governor an account of. This my firſt examination laſted three hours. The next day I underwent a ſecond for about an hour and a half, when I was courteouſly diſmiſſed, with a promiſe that all proper methods ſhould be taken, not only to accommodate and reimburſe all thoſe who had ſuffered by the ſavages, but to prevent them from committing the like hoſtilities for the future.

Now returned, and once more at liberty to purſue my own inclinations, I was perſuaded by my father-in-law and friends to follow ſome employment or other; but the plantation, from whence I was taken, tho' an exceeding good one, could not tempt me to ſettle on it again. What my fate would have been if I had may eaſily be conceived. And there being at this time (as the aſſembly too late for many of us found) a neceſſity for raiſing men to check thoſe barbarians in their ravaging depredations, I inliſted myſelf as one with the greateſt alacrity and moſt determined reſolution, to exert

the

the utmoſt of my power, in being revenged on the helliſh authors of my ruin. General *Shirly* governor of *New-England*, and commander in chief of his majeſty's land forces in *North America*, was pitched upon, to direct the operations of the war, in that part of the world.

Into a regiment, immediately under the command of this general, was it my lot to be placed for three years. This regiment was intended for the frontiers, to deſtroy the forts erected by the *French*, as ſoon as it ſhould be completely furniſhed with arms, *&c.* at *Boſton* in *New-England*, where it was ordered for that purpoſe. Being then very weak, and infirm in body, tho' poſſeſſed of my reſolution, it was thought adviſeable to leave me for two months in winter-quarters. At the end of which, being pretty well recruited in ſtrength, I ſet out for *Boſton*, to join the regiment with ſome others, likewiſe left behind; and after croſſing the river *Delaware*, we arrived at *New-Jerſey*, and from thence proceeded thro' the ſame by *New-York*, *Middletown*, *Mendon* in *Connecticut*, to *Boſton*, where we arrived about the end of *March*, and found the regiment ready to receive us.

Boſton, being the capital of *New-England*, and the largeſt city in *America*, except two or three on the *Spaniſh* continent, I ſhall here ſubjoin a ſhort account of it.

'Tis pleaſantly ſituated, and about four miles in compaſs, at the bottom of *Maſſachuſet*'s bay, into which there is but one common and ſafe paſſage, and not very broad, there being ſcarce room for three ſhips to come in a-breaſt; but once in, there's room for the anchorage of 500 ſail. It is guarded by ſeveral rocks, and above a dozen iſlands; the moſt remarkable of theſe iſlands is *Caſtle-Iſland*, which ſtands about a league from the town, and ſo ſituated, that no ſhip of burthen can approach the

town,

town, without the hazard of being ſhattered in pieces by its cannon. It is now called *Fort-William*, and mounted with 100 pieces of ordnance; 200 more which were given to the province by Queen *Anne*, are placed on a plat form, ſo as to rake a ſhip fore and aft, before ſhe can bring about her broadſides to bear againſt the caſtle. Some of theſe cannon are 42 pounders; 500 able men are exempted from all military duty in times of war, to be ready at an hour's warning, to attend the ſervice of the caſtle, upon a ſignal of the approach of an enemy, which there ſeems to be no great danger of at *Boſton;* where, in 24 hour's time, 10,000 effective men, well arm'd, might be ready for their defence. According to a computation of the collectors of the *Light-houſe*, it appear'd there were 24,000 tons of ſhipping cleared annually.

The pier is at the bottom of the bay, 2000 feet long, and runs ſo far into the bay, that ſhips of the greateſt burthen may unload without the help of boats or lighters. At the upper end of the chief ſtreet in the town, which comes down to the head of the pier, is the *Town-houſe*, or *Exchange*, a fine building, containing, beſides the walk for merchants, the *Council chamber*, the *Houſe of Commons*, and a ſpacious room for the courts of juſtice. The *Exchange* is ſurrounded with bookſellers ſhops that have a good trade: Here being five printing houſes, and the preſſes generally full of work, which is in a great meaſure owing to the colleges and ſchools in *New-England;* and likewiſe at *New-York* and *Philadelphia*, there are ſeveral printing-houſes lately erected, and bookſellers conſtantly employed, as well as at *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *South-Carolina*, *Barbadoes*, and the *Sugar-Iſlands*.

The town lies in the form of an half-moon round the harbour, and conſiſting of about 4000 houſes

houſes, muſt make an agreeable proſpect; the ſurrounding ſhore being high, the ſtreets long, and the buildings beautiful. The pavement is kept in ſo good order, that to gallop an horſe on it is 3*s.* 4*d.* forfeit. The number of inhabitants is computed at about 24,000.

There are eight churches, the chief of which is called the *Church of England church*; beſides the *Baptiſt* meeting, and the *Quakers* meeting.

The converſation in this town is as polite as in moſt of the cities and towns in *England*. A gentleman of *London* would fancy himſelf at home at *Boſton*, when he obſerves the number of people, their furniture, their tables, and dreſs, which perhaps, is as ſplendid as ſhowy as that of moſt tradeſmen in *London*.

In this city, learning military diſcipline, and wanting for an opportunity of carrying our ſchemes into execution, we lay till the firſt of *July*; during all which time great outrages and devaſtations were committed by the ſavages in the back parts of the province. One inſtance of which, in particular, I ſhall relate, as being concerned in rewarding, according to deſert, the wicked authors thereof.

Joſeph Long, Eſq; a gentleman of large fortune in theſe parts, who had in his time been a great warrior among the *Indians*, and frequently joined in expeditions with thoſe in our intereſt, againſt the others. His many exploits, and great influence among ſeveral of the nations, were too well known to paſs unrevenged by the ſavages againſt whom he had exerted his abilities. Accordingly, in *April* 1756, a body of them came down on his plantation, about 30 miles from *Boſton*, and ſkulking in the woods for ſome time, at laſt ſeized an opportunity to attack his houſe, in which, unhappily proving ſucceſsful, they ſcalped, mangled, and cut to pieces, the unfortunate gentleman, his wife, and nine ſervants; and then made a general conflagration

tion of his houſes, barns, cattle, and every thing he poſſeſſed, which, with the mangled bodies, were all conſumed in one blaze! But his more unfortunate ſon and daughter were made priſoners, and carried off by them, to be reſerved for greater tortures. Alarmed and terrified at this inhuman butchery, the neighbourhood, as well as the people of *Boſton*, quickly aſſembled themſelves, to think of proper meaſures to be revenged on theſe execrable monſters. Among the firſt of thoſe who offered themſelves to go againſt the ſavages, was *James Crawford*, Eſq; who was then at *Boſton*, and heard of this tragedy; he was a young gentleman who had for ſome years, paid his addreſſes to Miſs *Long*, and was in a very little time to have been married to her. Diſtracted, raving, and ſhocked as he was, he loſt no time, but inſtantly raiſed an hundred reſolute and bold young fellows, to go in queſt of the villains. As I had been ſo long among them, and was pretty well acquainted with their manners and cuſtoms, and particularly their ſkulking-places in the woods, I was recommended to him as one proper for his expedition; he immediately applied to my officers and got liberty for me. Never did I go on any enterprize with half that alacrity and chearfulneſs I now went with this party. My wrongs and ſufferings were too recent in my memory, to ſuffer me to heſitate a moment in taking an opportunity of being revenged to the utmoſt of my power.

Being quickly armed and provided, we haſtened forwards for Mr. *Long*'s plantation on the 29th, and after travelling the moſt remote and intricate paths through the woods, arrived there the 2d of *May*, dubious of our ſucceſs, and almoſt deſpairing of meeting with the ſavages, as we had heard or could diſcover nothing of them in our march. In the afternoon, ſome of our men being ſent to the top of a hill to look out for them, ſoon perceived a great

ſmoak

ſmoak in a part of the low grounds. This we immediately, and rightly conjectured to proceed from a fire made by them. We accordingly put ourſelves into regular order, and marched forwards, reſolving, let their number have been what it might, to give them battle.

Arriving within a mile of the place, captain *Crawford*, whoſe anxiety and pain, made him quicker ſighted than any of the reſt, ſoon perceived them, and gueſſed their number to be about 50. Upon this we halted, and ſecreted ourſelves as well as we could, till twelve o'clock at night. At which time, ſuppoſing them to be at reſt, we divided our men into two diviſions, 50 in each, and marched on; when coming within twenty yards of them, the captain fired his gun, which was immediately followed by both diviſions in ſucceſſion, who inſtantly ruſhing on them with bayonets fixed, killed every man of them.

Great as our joy was, and fluſhed with ſucceſs as we were at this ſudden victory, no heart among us but was ready to burſt at the ſight of the unhappy young lady. What muſt the thoughts, torments, and ſenſations of our brave captain then be, if even we who knew her not, were ſo ſenſibly affected! For, oh! what breaſt, tho' of the brutal ſavage race we had juſt deſtroyed, could, without feeling the moſt exquiſite grief and pain, behold in ſuch infernal power, a lady in the bloom of youth, bleſt with every female accompliſhment that could ſet off the moſt exquiſite beauty! Beauty, which rendered her the envy of her own ſex, and the delight of ours, enduring the ſeverity of a windy, rainy night! Behold one nurtered in the moſt tender manner, and by the moſt indulgent parents, quite naked, and in the open woods, encircling with her alabaſter arms and hands a cold rough tree, whereto ſhe was bound, with cords ſo ſtraitly pull'd, that the blood

trickled from her finger's ends! Her lovely tender body and delicate limbs, cut, bruiſed, and torn with ſtones, and boughs of trees as ſhe had been dragged along, and all beſmeared with blood! What heart can even now, unmoved, think of her deſtreſs, in ſuch a deplorable condition; having no creature, with the leaſt ſenſations of humanity, near to ſuccour or relieve her, or even pity or regard her flowing tears and lamentable wailings!

The very remembrance of the ſight, has at this inſtant ſuch an effect upon me, that I almoſt want words to go on.——Such then was the condition in which we found this wretched fair, but faint and ſpeechleſs with the ſhock our firing had given her tender frame. The captain for a long time could do nothing but gaze upon and claſp her to his boſom, crying, raving, and tearing his hair like one bereft of his ſenſes; nor did he for ſome time perceive the lifeleſs condition ſhe was in, until one of the men had untied her lovely mangled arms, and ſhe fell to the ground. Finding among the villains plunder the unhappy lady's cloaths, he gently put ſome of them about her; and after various trials, and much time ſpent, recovered her diſſipated ſpirits, the repoſſeſſion of which ſhe firſt manifeſted by eagerly fixing her eyes on her dear deliverer, and ſmiling with the moſt complaiſant joy, bleſſed the Almighty, and him, for her miraculous deliverance.

During this pleaſing, painful interview, our men were buſily employed in cutting, hacking and ſcalping the dead *Indians*; and ſo deſirous was every man to have a ſhare in wreaking his revenge on them, that diſputes happened among ourſelves who ſhould be the inſtruments of further ſhewing it on their lifeleſs trunks, there not being enough for every man to have one wherewith to ſatiate himſelf: The captain obſerving the animoſity between us,

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on this occaſion, ordered, that the two diviſions ſhould caſt lots for this bloody, though agreeable piece of work: which being accordingly done, the party, whoſe lot it was to be excluded from this buſineſs, ſtood by with half-pleaſed countenances, looking on the reſt; who with the utmoſt chearfulneſs and activity purſued their revenge in ſcalping, and otherwiſe treating their dead bodies as the moſt inveterate hatred and deteſtation could ſuggeſt.

The work being done, we thought of ſteering homewards triumphant with the 50 ſcalps; but how to get the lady forwards, who was in ſuch a condition as rendered her incapable of walking further, gave us ſome pain, and retarded us a little, untill we made a ſort of carriage to ſeat her on; and then, with the greateſt readineſs, we took our turns, four at a time, and carried her along. This in ſome meaſure, made the captain chearful, who all the way endeavoured to comfort and revive his deſponding afflicted miſtreſs: but alas! in vain; for the miſeries ſhe had lately felt, and the terrible fate of her poor brother, of whom, I doubt not but the tender-hearted reader is anxious to hear, rendered even her moſt pleaſing thoughts, notwithſtanding his ſoothing words, corroding and inſufferable.

The account ſhe gave of their diſaſtrous fate and dire caſtrophe, beſides what I have already mentioned, was, that the ſavages had no ſooner ſeen all conſumed, but they hurried off with her and her brother, puſhing, and ſometimes dragging them on, for four or five miles, when they ſtopt; and ſtripping her naked, treated her in a ſhocking manner, whilſt others were ſtripping and cruelly whipping her unhappy brother. After which, they in the ſame manner purſued their journey, regardleſs of the tears, prayers, or intreaties of this wretched pair; but with the moſt infernal pleaſure, laughed and rejoiced at the calamities and diſtreſſes they had

brought them to, and ſaw them ſuffer, until they arrived at the place we found them; where, they had that day butchered her beloved brother in the following execrable and cruel manner: They firſt ſcalped him alive, and after mocking his agonizing groans and torments, for ſome hours, ripped open his belly, into which they put ſplinters, and chips of pine-trees, and ſet fire thereto; the ſame (on account of the turpentine wherewith theſe trees abound) burnt with great quickneſs and fury for a little time, during which, he remained in a manner alive, as ſhe could ſometimes perceive him to move his head, and groan. They then piled a great quantity of wood all round his body, and conſumed it to aſhes.

Thus did theſe Barbarians put an end to the being of this unhappy young gentleman, who was only 22 years of age when he met his calamitous fate. She continued her relation, by acquainting us, that the next day was to have ſeen her periſh in the like manner, after ſuffering worſe than even ſuch a terrible death, the ſatisfying theſe diabolical miſcreants in their brutal luſt. But it pleaſed the Almighty to permit us to reſcue her, and intirely extirpate this crew of devils!

Marching eaſily on her account, we returned to the captain's plantation the 6th of *May*, where, as well as at *Boſton*, we were joyfully received, and rewarded handſomely for the ſcalps of thoſe ſavages we had brought with us. Mr. *Crawford* and Miſs *Long* were ſoon after married; and, in gratitude to the ſervices we had done them, the whole party were invited to the wedding, and nobly entertained, but no riotous or noiſy mirth was allowed, the young lady, as we may well imagine, being ſtill under great affliction, and in a weak ſtate of health.

Nothing further material, that I now remember, happened during my ſtay at *Boſton*; to proceed therefore,

fore, with the continuation of our intended expedition.

On the 1ſt of *July*, the regiment began their march for *Oſwego*. The 21ſt we arrived at *Albany*, in *New-York*, through *Cambridge*, *Northampton*, and *Hadfield*, in *New-England*. From thence, marching about twenty miles farther, we encamped near the mouth of the *Mohawk* river by a town called *Schenectady*, not far from the *Endleſs-Mountains*. Here did we lye ſome time, untill *Batteaux* (a ſort of flat-bottomed boats, very ſmall, and ſharp at both ends) could be got to carry our ſtores and proviſions to *Oſwego*; each of which, would contain about ſix barrels of Pork, or in proportion thereto. Two men belonged to every batteaux, who made uſe of ſtrong ſcutting poles, with iron at the ends, to prevent their being too ſoon deſtroyed by the ſtones in the river (one of the ſources of the *Ohio*) which abounded with many, and large ones, and in ſome places was ſo ſhallow that the men were forced to wade and drag their batteaux after them. Which, together with ſome Cataracts, or great falls of water, rendered this duty very hard and fatiguing, not being able to travel more than ſeven or eight Engliſh miles a day, untill they came to the *Great-Carrying* place at *Wood's Creek*, where the proviſions and batteaux were taken out, and carried about four miles to *Alliganey*, or *Ohio* great river, that runs quite to *Oſwego*, to which place, general *Shirley* got with part of the forces on the 8th of *Auguſt*; but Colonel *Mercer* with the remainder, did not arrive untill the 31ſt. Here we found Colonel *Schuyler* with his regiment of *New-Jerſey* provincials, who had arrived there ſome time before. A ſhort deſcription of a place, which has afforded ſo much occaſion for animadverſion, may not here be altogether diſagreeable to thoſe unacquainted with our ſettlements in that part of the world.

Oſwego is ſituated N. Lat. 43 deg. 20 min. near the mouth of the river *Onondago*, on the ſouth-ſide of the lake *Ontario*, or *Cataraquie*. There was generally a fort and conſtant garriſon of regular troops kept before our arrival. In the proper ſeaſons a fair for the *Indian* trade is kept here: *Indians* of above twenty different nations have been obſerved here at a time. The greateſt part of the trade between *Canada* and the *Indians*, of the *Great Lakes*, and ſome parts of the *Miſſiſſippi*, paſs near this fort; the neareſt and ſafeſt way of carrying goods upon this lake being along the ſouth-ſide of it. The diſtance from *Albany* to *Oſwego* fort is about 300 miles weſt; to render which march more comfortable, we met with many good farms and ſettlements by the way. The *Outawaes*, a great and powerful nation, living upon the *Outawae* river, which joins the *Catarique* river, (the out-let of the great lake) deal conſiderably with the *New-York* trading houſes here.

The different nations trading to *Oſwego* are diſtinguiſhable by the variety and different faſhions of their canoes; the very remote *Indians* are cloathed in ſkins of various ſorts, and have all fire-arms: ſome come ſo far north as *Port-Nelſon*, in *Hudſon's* Bay, N. lat. 57 deg. and ſome from the *Chirakees* weſt of *South-Carolina*, in N. lat. 32 deg. This ſeems indeed to be a vaſt extent of in-land water-carriage, but it is only for canoes, and the ſmalleſt of craft.

Nor will it in this place be improper to give ſome account of our friends in thoſe parts, whom we call the *Mohawks*, viz. The *Iroquois*, commonly called the *Mohawks*; the *Oneiadaes*, the *Onondagues*, the *Cayugaes*, and the *Senekeas*. In all accounts they are lately called the *ſix Nations* of the *New-York*, friendly-*Indians*; the *Tuſcararoes*, ſtragglers from the old *Tuſcararoes* of *North-Carolina*, lately are reckoned as the ſixth.——I ſhall here reckon them

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as I have been informed they were formerly. 1. The *Mohawks*; they live upon the *Mohawk*'s or *Schenectady* river, and head, or lye north of *New-York*, *Penſylvania*, *Maryland*, and ſome part of *Virginia*; having a caſtle or village, weſtward from *Albany* forty miles, and another ſixty-five miles weſt, and about 160 fenſible men. 2. The *Oneiadaes*, about eighty miles from the *Mohawk*'s ſecond village, conſiſting of about near 200 fighting men. 3. The *Onondagues*, about twenty-five miles further, (the famous *Oſwego* trading place on the lake *Ontario*, is in their country) conſiſting of about 250 men. 4. The *Cayugaes*, about ſeventy miles further, of about 130 men; and, 5. The *Senekeas*, who reach a great way down the river *Seſquehana*, conſiſt of about 700 marching, fighting men: ſo that the fighting men of the five or ſix nations of *Mohawks* may be reckoned at 1500 men, and extend from *Albany*, weſt 400 miles, lying in about thirty tribes or governments. Beſides theſe, there is ſettled above *Montreal*, which lies N. E. of *Oſwego*, a tribe of ſcoundrel run-aways from the *Mohawks*; they are called *Kahnuages*, conſiſting of about eighty men.—This ſhort account of theſe nations, I think neceſſary to make the *Engliſh* reader acquainted with, as I may have occaſion to mention things concerning ſome of them.

It may not be improper here alſo, to give a ſuccinct detail, of the education, manners, religion, &c. of the natives. The *Indians* are born tolerably white; but they take a great deal of pains to darken their complexion, by anointing themſelves with greaſe, and lying in the ſun. Their features are good, eſpecially thoſe of the women. Their limbs clean, ſtraight, and well-proportiond, and a crooked and deformed perſon is a great rarity among them. They are very ingenious in their way, being neither ſo ignorant, nor ſo innocent, as ſome people imagine;

gine: On the contrary, a very underſtanding generation are they, quick of apprehenſion, ſudden in diſpatch, ſubtle in their dealings, exquiſite in their inventions, and in labour aſſiduous: The world has no better marksmen with guns, or bows and arrows, than the natives, who can kill birds flying, fiſhes ſwimming, and wild beaſts running; nay with ſuch prodigious force do they diſcharge their arrow, that one of them will ſhoot a man quite through, and nail both his arms to his body with the ſame arrow.

As to their religion, in order to reconcile the different accounts exhibited by travellers, we muſt ſuppoſe that different tribes may have different notions, and different rites: and though I do not think myſelf capable of determining the caſe with the preciſion and accuracy I could wiſh; yet, with what I have collected from my own obſervation when among them, and the information of my brother-captives, who have been longer converſant with the *Indians* than I was; I ſhall readily give the public all the ſatisfaction I can.

Some aſſure us the *Indians* worſhip the images of ſome inferior deities, whoſe anger they ſeem to dread; on which account the generality of our travellers denominate the objects of their devotion, devils; though at the ſame time, it is allowed they pray to their inferior deities for ſucceſs in all their undertakings, for plenty of food and other neceſſaries of life. It appears too, that they acknowledge one Supreme Being, but him they adore not, becauſe they believe he is too far exalted above them, and too happy in himſelf to be concerned about the trifling affairs of poor mortals. They ſeem alſo to believe a future ſtate, and that, after death, they will be removed to their friends who have gone before them to an *Elyſium* or *Paradiſe* beyond the *Weſtern Mountains*: others again, allow them either no religion

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at all, or, at moſt, very faint ideas of a deity; but all agree that they are extravagantly ſuperſtitious, and exceedingly afraid of evil ſpirits. To theſe *Dæmons* they make oblations every new-moon, for the ſpace of ſeven days; during which time, they caſt lots, and ſacrifice one of themſelves, putting the perſon devoted to the moſt exquiſite miſery they can invent, in order to ſatisfy the devil for that moon; for they think if they pleaſe but the evil ſpirit, God will do them no hurt.

Certain however it is, that thoſe *Indians*, whom the *French* prieſts have had an opportunity of miniſtring unto, are induced to believe, "That the "Son of God came into the world to ſave all "mankind, and deſtroy all evil ſpirits that now "trouble them; that the *Engliſh* have killed him; "and that ever ſince, the evil ſpirits are permitted "to walk on the earth: that if the *Engliſh* were, "all deſtroyed, the Son of the Good-man, who is "God, would come again, and baniſh all evil "ſpirits from their lands, and then they would have "nothing to fear or diſturb them:" Cajoled by theſe falſe but artful inſinuations of the *French Jeſuits*, the *Indians* from that time, have endeavoured to maſſacre all the *Engliſh*, in order that the Son of God might come again on the earth, and rid them from their ſlaviſh fears and terrible apprehenſions, by exterminating the objects thereof.

Being now at *Oſwego*, the principal object that gave at that time any concern to the *Americans*, I ſhall, before I continue my own account, give a ſhort recital of what had been done in theſe parts, in regard to the defence and preſervation of the fort and the colonies thereabouts, before I came, upon ſuch authorities as I got from thoſe who had been long at *Oſwego*, and I can well depend upon for truth.

General

General *Shirley*, in 1754, having erected two new forts on the river *Onondoga*, it ſeemed probable, that he intended to winter at *Oſwego* with his army, that he might the more readily proceed to action in the enſuing ſpring. What produced his inactivity afterwards, and how it was, that fort *Oſwego* was not taken by the *French* in the ſpring of 1755, are things my penetration will not enable me to diſcuſs. But *Oſwego* is now loſt, and would have been ſo in the ſpring of 1755, if more important affairs had not made the *French* neglect it. At this time the garriſon of *Oſwego* conſiſted only of 100 men, under captain *King*. The old fort being their only protection, which mounted only eight four pounders, was incapable of defence, becauſe it was commanded by an eminence directly croſs a narrow river, the banks of which were covered with thick wood.

In *May* 1755, *Oſwego* being in this condition, and thus garriſoned; thirty *French* batteaux were ſeen to paſs, and two days after eleven more; each batteaux (being much larger than ours) containing fifteen men: ſo this fleet conſiſted of near 600 men: A force, which, with a ſingle mortar, might ſoon have taken poſſeſſion of the place.

A reſolution was now taken to make the fort larger, and erect ſome new ones; to build veſſels upon the lake; to increaſe the garriſon; and provide every thing neceſſary to annoy the enemy, ſo as they might render the place tenable. Captain *Broadſtreet* arriving on the 27th of *May* at the fort, with two companies, ſome ſmall ſwivil guns, and the firſt parcel of workmen, made ſome imagine that a ſtop would be put to the *French* in their carrying men in ſight of the garriſon; yet, they ſtill permitted eleven more *French* batteaux to paſs by, tho' we were then ſuperior to them in theſe boats, or at leaſt in number. The reaſon our forces could

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not attack them, was, becauſe they were four miles in the Offing, on board large veſſels, in which the ſoldiers could ſtand to fire without being overſet; and our batteaux, in which we muſt have attacked them, were ſo ſmall, that they would contain only ſix men each, and ſo tickliſh, that the inadvertent motion of one man would overſet them. No care, however, was taken to provide larger boats againſt another emergency of the ſame kind. At *Oſwego*, indeed, it was impracticable for want of *iron-work*; ſuch being the provident forecaſt of thoſe who had the management of affairs, that though there were ſmiths enough, yet, there was, at this place, but one pair of bellows, ſo that the firſt accident that ſhould happen to that neceſſary inſtrument, would ſtop all the opperations of the forge at once.

The beginning of *June*, the ſhip-carpenters arrived from *Boſton*, and on the 28th of the ſame month, the firſt veſſel we ever had on the lake *Ontario*, was launched and fitted out: She was a ſchooner 40 feet in the keel, had 14 oars, and 12 ſwivil guns. This veſſel, and 320 men, was all the force we had at *Oſwego*, the beginning of *July*, and was victualled at the expence of the province of *New-York*. Happy indeed, it was, that the colony proviſions were there; for ſo little care had been taken to get the king's proviſions ſent up, that, when we arrived, we muſt have periſhed with famine, had we not found a ſupply, which we had little reaſon to expect.

About the middle of *July*, an attack was again expected, when we (the forces under general *Shirly*) were ſtill near 300 miles diſtant. And, if the attack had then been made, with the force the enemy was known to have had at hand, it muſt, for the reaſon I have juſt before given, have fallen into their poſſeſſion

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Such was the ſtate of *Oſwego*, when we arrived there: Where we had been but a ſmall time, before proviſions began to be very ſcarce; and the king's allowance being ſtill delayed, the provincial ſtores were ſoon exhauſted, and we were in danger of being ſoon famiſhed, being on leſs than half allowance. The men being likewiſe worn out, and fatigued with the long march they had ſuffered, and being without rum (or allowed none at leaſt) and other proper nutriment, many fell ſick of the flux, and died; ſo that our regiment was greatly reduced in ſix weeks time: A party that we left at the important carrying-place, at *Wood's creek*, being abſolutely obliged to deſert it for want of neceſſaries.

Sickneſs, death and deſertion, had at length ſo far reduced us, that we had ſcarce men enough to perform duty, and protect thoſe that were daily at work. The *Indians* keeping a ſtrict look-out, rendered every one who paſſed the out-guards or centinels in danger of being ſcalped or murdered. To prevent conſequences like theſe, a captain's guard of ſixty men, with two lieutenants, two ſerjeants, two corporals, and one drum, beſides two flank-guards of a ſerjeant, corporal, and twelve men in each, were daily mounted, and did duty as well as able. Scouting-parties were likewiſe ſent out every day: But the ſickneſs ſtill continuing, and having 300 men at work, we were obliged to leſſen our guards, till general *Pepperel*'s regiment joined us.

A little dilligence being now made uſe of, about the middle of *September*, four other veſſels were got ready, *viz.* A decked ſloop of eight guns, four pounders, and 30 ſwivils; a decked ſchooner, eight guns, four pounders, and twenty eight ſwivils; one undecked ſchooner, of fourteen ſwivils, and fourteen oars, and another of twelve ſwivils; and fourteen oars; about 150 tons each.

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On the 24th of *October*, with this armament, and a conſiderable number of batteaux, which were too ſmall to live upon the lake in moderate weather, we were preparing to attack *Niagara;* tho' (notwithſtanding we had taken all the proviſions we could find in *Oſwego*, and had left the garriſon behind, with ſcarce enough for three days) the fleet had not proviſions ſufficient on board, to carry them within ſight of the enemy, and ſupplies were not to be got, within 300 miles of the place we were going againſt. However, the impracticability of ſucceeding in an expedition, undertaken without victuals, was diſcovered time enough to prevent our march, or embarkation, or whatever it may be called; but not before nine batteaux laden with officers baggage, were ſent forwards, four men in each batteau; in one of which, it was my lot to be. The men being weak, and in low ſpirits, with continual harraſſing, and low feeding, rendered our progreſs very tedious and difficult; add to this the places we had to paſs and aſcend; for, in many parts, the *Cataracts* or *falls* of water, which deſcended near the head of the river *Onondaga* (in ſome places near 100 feet perpendicular) rendered it almoſt impoſſible for us to proceed; for the current running from the bottom, was ſo rapid, that the efforts of twenty or thirty men were ſometimes required to drag the boats along, and eſpecially to get them up the hills or *Cataracts*, which we were forced to do with ropes: Sometimes, when with great labour and difficulty, we had got them up, we carried them by land near a quarter of a mile, before we came to any water. In ſhort, we found four men to a batteau inſufficient; for the men belonging to one batteau were ſo fatigued and worn out, that they could not manage her, ſo that ſhe lay behind almoſt a league.

The captain that was with us, obſerving this, as ſoon as we had got the others over the moſt difficult falls, ordered two beſides myſelf to go and help her forwards; Accordingly I got into her in order to ſteer her, whilſt my two comerades and her own crew dragged her along. When we got to any *Cataracts*, I remained in her to faſten the ropes, and keep all ſafe, while they hauled her up; but drawing her to the ſummit of the laſt *Cataract*, the ropes gave way, and down ſhe fell, into a very rapid and boiſterous ſtream; where, not being able by myſelf, to work her, ſhe ſtove to pieces on a ſmall rock, on which ſome part of her remaining till morning I miraculouſly ſaved myſelf. Never was my life in greater danger than in this ſituation; the night being quite dark, and no aſſiſtance to be obtained from any of my comerades; tho' many of them, as I afterwards learned, made diligent ſearch for me; but the fall of the water rendered the noiſe that they, as well as myſelf made, to be heard by one another, quite ineffectual.

In the morning, they indeed found me, but in a wretched condition, quite benumbed, and almoſt dead with cold, having nothing on but my ſhirt.

After various efforts, having with great difficulty got me up, they uſed all proper means to recover my worn-out ſpirits; but the fire had a fatal effect to what they intended, for my fleſh ſwelled all over my body and limbs, and cauſed ſuch a deprivation of my ſenſes, that I fainted, and was thought by all to be dead. However, after ſome time, they pretty well recovered my ſcattered ſenſes, and fatigued body; and with proper care conducted me with ſome others (who were weak and ill of the flux) to *Albany*, where the hoſpital received our poor debilitated bodies.

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The reſt, not able to proceed, or being countermanded, bent their courſe back again to *Oſwego*: Where, a friendly ſtorm preventing an embarkation, when a ſtock of proviſions was got together (ſufficient to prevent them from eating one another, during the firſt twelve days) all thoughts of attacking *Niagara* were laid aſide.

Thus ended this formidable campaign. The veſſels that we had built (as I afterwards learned) were unrigged and laid up, without having been put to any uſe; while a *French* veſſel was cruiſing on the *Lake*, and carrying ſupplies to *Niagara*, without interruption; five others as large as ours being alſo ready to launch at *Frontenac*, which lies acroſs the lake *Ontario*, north of *Oſwego*.

The general, whatever appearances might have led others, as well as myſelf, to think otherwiſe, ſoon indicated his intention of not wintering at *Oſwego*; for he left the place before the additional works were compleated, and the garriſon, by inſenſible degrees, decreaſed to 1100 men; ſtill living in perpetual terror, on the brink of famine, and become mutinous for want of their pay; which, in the *hurry of military buſineſs*, during a year that was crowned with great events, had been forgotten: for, from my firſt inliſting, to the time I was laid up at *Albany*, I never had received above ſix weeks pay.

A little, indeed, may be offered in vindication of the general in regard to the numberleſs delays of this campaign, *viz.* That it took ſome time to raiſe the two regiments which were in *Britiſh* pay, as the name of enliſting for life, is ſomewhat forbidding to the *Americans*: (a few of whom, as well as myſelf, made our agreement for three years; but after that time, I doubt, we muſt have depended on his pleaſure for our being diſcharged, according to our contract, had it not fallen out otherwiſe).

The unuſual dryneſs of the ſummer, rendered the rivers down to *Oſwego* in ſome places impaſſable, or very difficult for the batteaux to proceed; and it was whiſpered, that a gentleman, lately in an eminent ſtation in *New-York*, did all in his power to hinder the undertaking, from a pique to the general. By theſe diſadvantages, he was detained at *Albany*, till *Auguſt*, and even when he did reach *Oſwego*, he found himſelf put to no little difficulty to maintain his ground for want of proviſions; and the men being ſo reduced, more than once, to ſhort allowance, as you have ſeen, became troubled with the flux, and had not any thing neceſſary not even rum ſufficient for the *common* men, to prevent the fatal effects of that diſorder.

In this manner, the ſummer was ſpent on our ſide; and the reaſon why the *French* did not this year take *Oſwego*, when they might, with ſo little trouble, was, as many beſides myſelf conjectured, that they thought it more their intereſt, to purſue their projects on the *Ohio*, and preſerve the friendſhip of the conſiderable *Indians*; which an attack upon *Oſwego*, at that time, would have deſtroyed.

How far they ſucceeded in ſuch their projects, and the reaſons of their ſucceſſes, a little animadverſion on our own tranſactions will let us into the light of. For, as appearances on our ſide were very favourable in the ſpring; general *Braddock*'s defeat greatly increaſed the gloom, which ſat on the countenances of the *Americans*.

Great things being expected from him, he arrived early in the ſpring at *Virginia*, with a conſiderable land force; and fort *Du Queſne* ſeemed to be ours, if we did but go and demand it. The attacks deſigned againſt *Niagara*, and fort *Frederick*, at *Crown-point*, were planned in the winter, and the troops employed againſt the *French* in *Nova-Scotia*, embarked at *Boſton* in *April*. Let us view the

the events beſides thoſe already mentioned. General *Braddock* was ready to march in *April*. But through ignorance, or neglect, or a miſunderſtanding with the governor of *Virginia*, had neither freſh proviſions, horſes, nor waggons provided; and ſo late as the latter end of *May*, it was neceſſary to apply to *Penſylvania*, for the moſt part of thoſe. This neglect created a moſt pernicious diffidence and diſcredit of the *Americans*, in the mind of the general, and prevented their uſefulneſs, where their advice was wanted, and produced very bad effects. He was a man (as it is now too well known and believed) by no means of quick apprehenſion, and could not conceive that ſuch people could inſtruct him; and his young counſellors prejudiced him ſtill more, ſo as to ſlight his officers, and what was worſe, his enemy; as it was treated as an abſurdity to ſuppoſe the *Indians* would ever attack regulars: And of courſe, no care was taken to inſtruct the men, to reſiſt their peculiar manner of fighting. Had this circumſtance been attended to, I am fully perſuaded, 400 *Indians*, about the number that defeated him, would have given him very little annoyance: Sure I am, 400 of our people, rightly managed, would have made no difficulty of driving before them four times that handful, to whom he owed his defeat and death.

The undertaking of the eaſtren provinces to reduce the fort at *Crown-Point*, met that fate, which the jarring counſels of a divided people commonly meet with; for though the plan was concerted in the winter of 1754, it was *Auguſt* before theſe petty governments could bring together their troops. In ſhort, it muſt be owned by all, that delays were the banes of our undertakings, except in the bay of *Fundi*, in *Nova-Scotia*, where ſecrecy and expedition were rewarded with ſucceſs, and that province reduced.

The

The general continued inactive, from the time I left *Oſwego*, to *March* 1756, when he was about to reſume the execution of his ſcheme to attack *Frontenac* and *Niagara*. What would have been the iſſue of this project, neither myſelf, nor any other perſon, can now pretend to ſay, for, juſt at this criſis, he received orders from *England*, to attempt nothing, till lord *Loudon* ſhould arrive, which was ſaid ſhould be early in the ſpring. However, his lordſhip did not get there untill the middle of *July*, ſo that by this delay, time was given to the marquis *de Montcalm* (major general *Dieſkau*'s ſucceſſor) to arrive from *France* at *Canada* with 3000 regular forces, and take the field before us.

But to return from this digreſſion to other tranſactions. When I was pretty well recovered again, I embarked on board a veſſel from *Albany* for *New-York*; where, when I arrived, I found to my ſorrow, captain *John Shirley*, the general's ſon, had been dead for ſome time. He was a very promiſing, worthy, young gentleman, and univerſally regretted. His company was given to major *James Kinnair*, who ordered, that none of his men ſhould go out on the recruiting parties, as was at firſt intended by his predeceſſor; but, that the private men ſhould either return to *Oſwego*, or do duty in the fort at *New-York*. Not liking my ſtation here, I intreated the general, who was now arrived, for a furlow, to ſee my friends at *Penſylvania*, which he, having then no great occaſion for me at *New-York*, granted for three months.

As I have here mentioned *New-York*, and before given a ſhort account of the two cities, *Philadelphia* and *Boſton*, it would be a diſreſpect ſhown to this elegant one not to take notice of it, as well as in ſome meaſure debarring the reader from ſuch information, as may not be diſagreeable; but not being

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of that note or conſequence with the others, I ſhall briefly obſerve; that,

New York is a very fine city, and the capital of the province of that name; it contains about 3000 houſes, and near 9000 inhabitants. The houſes are all well built, and the meaneſt of them ſaid to be worth 100 *l.* ſterling, which cannot be ſaid of the city of the ſame name, nor of any other in *England*. Their converſation is polite, and their furniture, dreſs, and manner of living, quite elegant. In drinking and gallantry they exceed any city in *America*,

The great church is a very handſome edifice, and built in 1695. Here is alſo a *Dutch* church, a *French* church, and a *Lutheran* church. The inhabitants of *Dutch* extraction, make a conſiderable part of the town, and moſt of them ſpeak *Engliſh*.

Having obtained my furlow, I immediately ſet out for *Penſylvania*, and arriving at *Philadelphia*, found the conſternation and terror of the inhabitants was greatly increaſed, to what it was when I left them. They had made ſeveral treaties of friendſhip with the *Indians*, who, when well ſupplied with arms, ammunition, clothes, and other neceſſaries, through the pacific meaſures, and defenceleſs ſtate of the *Philadelphians*, ſoon revolted to the *French*, and committed great outrages on the back parts of the province, deſtroying and maſſacring men, women, and children, and every thing that unhappily lay in their way.

A few inſtances of which, together with the behaviour of the *Philadelphians* on theſe occaſions, I ſhall here preſent the reader with, who, of whatever ſect or profeſſion, I am well aſſured, muſt condemn the pacific diſpoſition, and private factions that then reigned, not only in the a——y, but among the magiſtrates themſelves; who were a long time, before they could agree on proper petitions,

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to rouſe the aſſembly from the lethargic and inactive condition they abſolutely remained in.

For, about the middle of *October*, a large body of *Indians*, chiefly *Shawoneſe*, *Delawares*, &c. fell upon this province, from ſeveral quarters, almoſt at the ſame inſtant, murdering, burning, and laying waſte all wherever they came; ſo that in the five counties of *Cumberland*, *York*, *Lancaſter*, *Berks*, and *Northampton*, which compoſe more than half the province, nothing but ſcenes of deſtruction and deſolation were to be ſeen.

The damages which theſe counties had ſuſtained by the deſertion of plantations, is not to be reckoned up, nor are the miſeries of the poor inhabitants to be deſcribed; many of whom, though eſcaping with life, were, without a moment's warning, driven from theſe habitations where they enjoyed every neceſſary of life, and were then expoſed to all the ſeverity of an hard winter, and obliged to ſolicit their very bread at the cold hand of charity, or periſh with hunger, under the inclement air.

To theſe barbarities I have already mentioned, I cannot paſs over the following, as introductory cauſes of the *Philadelphians* at laſt withſtanding the outrages of the Barbarians.

At *Gnadenhutten*, a ſmall *Moravian* ſettlement, in *Northampton* county, the poor unhappy ſufferers, were ſitting round their peaceful ſupper, when the inhuman murderers, muffled in the ſhades of night, dark and horrid as the infernal purpoſes of their diabolic ſouls, ſtole upon them, butchered, ſcalped them, and conſumed their bodies, together with their horſes, ſtock, and upwards of ſixty head of fat cattle, (intended for the ſubſiſtance of the brethren at *Bethlehem*) all in one general flame; ſo that next morning furniſhed only a melancholy ſpectacle of their mingled aſhes.

At

At the *Great Cove* in *Cumberland*, at *Tulpehockin*, in *Berks*, and in ſeveral other places, their barbarities were ſtill greater, if poſſible. Men, women, children, and brute-beaſts, ſhared one common deſtruction; and where they were not burnt to aſhes, their mangled limbs were found promiſcuouſly ſtrewed upon the ground, thoſe appertaining to the human form, ſcarce to be diſtingniſhed from the brute!

But of all the inſtances of the barbarities I heard of in theſe parts, I could not help being moſt affected with the following: One family, conſiſting of the huſband, his wife and a child, only a few hours old, were all found murdered and ſcalped in this manner: The mother ſtretched on the bed, with her new born child, horibly mangled, and put under her head for a pillow, while the huſband lay on the ground hard by, with his belly ript up, and his bowels laid open.

In another place, a woman with her ſucking child, finding that ſhe had fallen into the hands of the enemy, fell flat on her face, prompted by the ſtrong call of nature, to cover and ſhelter her innocent child with her own body. The accurſed ſavage ruſhed from his lurking place, ſtruck her on the head with his *tomahawk*, tore off her ſcalp, and ſcoured back into the woods, without obſerving the child, being apprehenſive that he was diſcovered. The child was found ſometime afterwards under the body of its mother, and was then alive.

Many of their young women were carried by the ſavages into captivity, reſerved, perhaps, for a worſe fate that thoſe who ſuffered death in all its horrid ſhapes; and no wonder, ſince they were received by ſavages, whoſe tender mercies might be accounted more cruel than their very cruelty itſelf.

Yet even during all this time this province (had things been properly ordered) need but, in compari-

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ſon to her ſtrength, have lifted her foot and cruſhed all the *French* force on their borders; but unuſed to ſuch undertakings, and bound by *non-reſiſting principals* from exerting her ſtrength, and involved in diſputes with the proprietaries, they ſtood ſtill, vainly hoping the *French* would be ſo moderate as to be content with their victory over *Braddock*, or at leaſt confine their attacks to *Virginia*: But they then ſaw and felt all this was deluſion, and the barbarities of the *Indian* parties headed by *French* officers: Notwithſtanding all which they continued in domeſtic debates, without a ſoldier in pay, or a penny in the treaſury. In ſhort, if the enemy had then had but 1500 men at the *Ohio*, and would have attempted it, no raſhneſs could have been perceived in their marching down to the city of *Philadelphia*.

Thus ſtood our affairs on the ſide of the *Ohio*, when an old captain of the warriors, in the intereſt of the *Philadelphians*, and their ever faithful friend, whoſe name was *Scarrooyda*, alias *Monokatoathy*, on the firſt notice of theſe misfortunes, came haſtening to *Philadelphia*, together with colonel *Weiſer*, the provincial interpreter, and two other *Indian* chiefs. *Scarrooyda* immediately demanded an audience of the aſſembly, who were then ſitting, to whom he ſpoke in a very affecting manner. His ſpeeches being printed, and ſold about *Philadelphia*, I procured one of them, which was as follows.

'BRETHREN,

'We are once more come among you, and ſincerely condole with you on account of the late 'bloodſhed, and the awful cloud that hangs over 'you, and over us. Brethren, you may be undoubtedly aſſured that theſe horrid actions were 'committed by none of thoſe nations that have 'any fellowſhip with us, but by certain falſe-hearted and treacherous brethren. It grieves us

'more

'more than all our other misfortunes, that any of 'our good friends, the *Engliſh*, ſhould ſuſpect us 'of having falſe hearts.

'BRETHREN,

'If you were not an infatuated people, we are 300 'warriors firm to your intereſt; and, if you are ſo 'unjuſt to us as to retain any doubts of our ſincerity, we offer to put our wives, our children, and 'all we have into your hands, to deal with them 'as ſeemeth good to you, if we are found in the 'leaſt to ſwerve from you. But, brethren, you 'muſt ſupport and aſſiſt us, for we are not able to 'fight alone againſt the powerful nations who are 'coming againſt you; and you muſt this moment 'reſolve, and give us an explicit anſwer what you 'will do: For theſe nations have ſent to deſire us, 'as old friends, either to join them, or get out of 'their way, and ſhift for ourſelves. Alas! brethren, we are ſorry to leave you! We remember 'the many tokens of your friendſhip to us: But 'what ſhall we do? We cannot ſtand alone, and 'you will not ſtand with us!——

'BRETHREN,

'The time is precious. While we are here conſulting with you, we know not what may be the 'fate of our brethren at home. We do therefore 'once more invite and requeſt you to act like men, 'and be no longer as women, purſuing weak meaſures that render your names deſpicable. If you 'will put the hatchet * into our hands, and ſend 'out a number of your young men in conjunction with our warriors, and provide the neceſſary arms, ammunition, and proviſions, and 'likewiſe build ſome ſtrong houſes for the protec-

* See the note under Tomahawk, page 15.

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'tion of our old men, women and children, while 'we are abſent in war: We ſhall ſoon wipe the 'tears from your eyes, and make theſe falſe heart-'ed brethren repent their treachery and baſeneſs 'towards you, and towards us.

'But we muſt at the ſame time ſolemnly aſſure 'you, that if you delay any longer to act in con-'junction with us, or think to put us off, as uſual, 'with uncertain hopes, you muſt not expect to ſee 'our faces under this roof any more. We muſt 'ſhift for our own ſafty, and leave you to the 'mercy of our enemies, as an infatuated people, 'upon whom we can have no longer depen-'dance.'

The tears ſtood in the old man's eyes, while he delivered this laſt part; and no wonder, ſince the very being of his nation depended upon their join-ing the enemy, or our enabling them immediately to make head againſt them.

It was ſome time, however, before the aſſembly could be brought to conſent to any vigorous mea-ſures for their own defence. Their back inhabi-tants loſt all patience at their conduct. Until at length the governor exerted his utmoſt power, and procured the militia, and money bills to paſs. By virtue of the former, the freemen of the province were enabled to form themſelves into companies, and each company, by a majority of votes, by way of ballot, to chuſe its own officers; viz. a captain, lieutenant, and enſign; who, if approved of, were to be commiſſioned by the governor. So that the *Philadelphians* were at laſt permitted to raiſe and arm themſelves in their own defence. They accordingly formed themſelves into companies; the governor ſigning to all gentlemen qualified, who had been regularly ballotted, commiſſions for that purpoſe.

Captain

Captain *Davis* was one of the firſt who had a company, and, being deſirous of my ſervice, in order to inſtruct the irregulars in their diſcipline, obtained from the governor a certificate to indemnify me from any puniſhment which might be adjudged by the regiment to which I already belonged; for without that I had not gone. Our company, which conſiſted of 100 men, was not compleated untill the 24 of *December*, 1755; when, loſing no time, we next morning marched from *Philedelphia* in high ſpirits; reſolving to ſhew as little quarter to the ſavages as they had to many of us.

Colonel *Armſtrong* had been more expeditious, for he had raiſed 280 provincial irregulars, and marched a little time before againſt the *Ohio Morians*; but of him more hereafter.

We arrived the 26th of *December* at *Bethlehem*, in the forks of the river *Delaware*, where, being kindly received by the *Moravians*, we loaded ſix waggons with proviſions, and proceeded on to the *Appalachian Mountains*, or *Blue Hills*, to a town called *Kennorton head*, which the *Moravians* had deſerted on account of the *Indians*. Fifty of our men, of whom I made one, were ordered before the reſt, to ſee whether the town was deſtroyed or not. Diſpoſing them to the beſt advantage, we marched on till we came within five miles of the place, which we found ſtanding entire.

Having a very uneven, rugged road to it, and not above four men able to go a-breaſt, we were on a ſudden alarmed, by the firing of the flank-guards, which were a little in the rear of our van. The ſavages briſkly returned their fire, and killed the enſign and ten of the men, and wounded ſeveral others.

Finding this, I being chief in command (having acted as lieutenant, and received pay as ſuch from my firſt entrance, for my trouble and duty in learn-

ing the company,) ordered the men to march on with all expedition to the town, and all the way to keep a running fire on the enemy, as they had fallen on our rear.

We ſhould have got there in very good order, had it not been for a river we had to croſs, and the weather being ſo exceſſively cold, our cloaths froze to our bodies as ſoon as we got out of the water. However, with great difficulty we reached the town, and got into the church with the loſs of twenty-ſeven men There we made as good preparations for our defence as poſſible we could, making a great fire of the benches, ſeats, and what we could find therein, to dry our cloaths; not eſteeming it the leaſt ſacrilege or crime, upon ſuch an emergency.

The *Indians* ſoon followed us into the town, and ſurrounding us, tried all methods to burn the church, but our continual firing kept them off for about ſix hours, untill our powder and ball were all expended. In the night they ſet ſeveral houſes on fire; and we dreading the conſequences of being detained there, reſolved to make one bold effort, and puſh ourſelves thro' the ſavages forces, which was accordingly done with the moſt undaunted courage. The enemy fired continually on us during our retreat, and killed many of our men, but in their confuſion many of themſelves alſo; it being ſo very dark that we were not well able to diſcern our own party; ſo that only five of us kept together and got into the woods; the reſt whom we left behind, I doubt, fell ſacrifices to the ſavages.

The night being ſo exceſſive cold, and having but few cloaths with us out of the church, two of my comerades froze to death, before we could reach any inhabited place. In ſhort, we did not get any relief till four o'clock in the morning, when we arrived at a houſe that lay in the gap of the *Blue-Hills*;

Hills; where our captain had arrived with the remainder of the men and waggons the day before.

The captain inquiring our ſucceſs, I gave him the melancholy detail of our unfortunate expedition: upon which an expreſs was immediately ſent to the governor with the account, who ordered 1600 men to march the next morning for the ſame place, under the command of general *Franklin*, not only to bury the dead and build a fort there, but to extirpate the ſavages who infeſted theſe parts, and were too powerful for our ſmall number under captain *Davis*.

The remainder of our little party were now building a fort at the place where we lay for our defence, untill more aſſiſtance ſhould arrive; for we were under continual apprehenſions of the *Indians* purſuing and attacking us again.

On the 9th of *Jannary* 1756, we were reinforced by general *Franklin* and his body; and the next day ſet out again for *Kennorton-head*; where, when we arrived, to our great conſternation, we found little occaſion to bury our unhappy comerades, the ſwine (which in that country are vaſtly numerous in the woods) having devoured their bodies, and nothing but bones ſtrewed up and down were to be ſeen. We there built a fort in the place where the old church had ſtood, and gave it the name of fort *Allen*; this was finiſhed in ſix days, and in ſo good a manner, that 100 men would make great reſiſtance againſt a much greater number of *Indians*.

On the 18th, 1400 of us were ordered about fifteen miles diſtant from thence, on the frontiers of the province; where we built another fort called *Fort-Norris*. In our way thither we found ſix men ſcalped and murdered in a moſt cruel manner. By what we could diſcern, they had made a vigorous defence, the barrels and ſtocks of their guns being

broke to pieces, and themſelves cut and mangled in a terrible manner.

From thence we were ordered to march towards a place called the *Minniſinks*, but this journey proved longer than we were aware of. The *Indians* committing great outrages in theſe parts, having burnt and deſtroyed all the houſes, &c. in our way: Theſe tragic actions cauſed us to divide ourſelves into ſeveral parties, who were ordered divers ways, to cut off as many of theſe ſavages as poſſible.

The day after this ſcheme was put into execution, we met with a ſmall party, which we put to the rout, killing fourteen of them. We then made all poſſible deſpatch to ſave ſome houſes we ſaw on fire, but on our nearer approach found our endeavour in vain: *John Swiſher* and his family having been before ſcalped, and burnt to aſhes in his own houſe. On the following night the houſe of *James Wallis* underwent the ſame fate; himſelf, wife, ſeven children, and the reſt of his family, being ſcalped and burnt therein. The houſes and families of *Philip Green* and *Abraham Nairn*, ſuffered in the like manner. Nor did the cruelty of theſe barbarians ſtop here, but attacked the dwelling-houſe of *George Hunter*, Eſq; a gentleman of conſiderable worth, and a juſtice of the peace, who made a brave reſiſtance, and rather than fall into the hands of theſe miſcreants, choſe to meet death in the flames; which he, his wife, and all his houſhold conſiſting of ſixteen in number, did with the utmoſt bravery, before any aſſiſtance could be received from our general, who had diſpatched 500 of us for that purpoſe, on an expreſs being ſent to him that morning.

From thence we marched to the *Miniſinkes*, and built *Fort Norris*. On the 9th of *March* we ſet out with 1000 men to the head of the *Miniſinkes*, and built

built another fort, which we named *Franklin*, in honour of our general. All which forts we garriſoned with as many men as we could poſſibly ſpare.

After this we were daily employed in ſcouring the woods from fort to fort, of theſe noxious creatures the *Indians*, and in getting as much of the corn together as we could find, to prevent the ſavages from having any benefit therefrom.

Notwithſtanding our vigila ce, theſe villains on the 15th attacked the houſe of *James Graham*, but by providence he, with his wife, who had juſt lain in, and the young infant in her arms, (with nothing about her but her ſhift) made their eſcape to *Fort Allen*, about fifteen miles diſtant. The child periſhed by the way, and it was matter of wonder to the whole garriſon to find either of them alive; indeed they were in a deplorable condition, and we imagined they would expire every moment. The wife however, to our great aſtoniſhment, recovered, but the huſband did not ſurvive above ſix hours after their arrival.

The houſe of *Iſaac Cook* ſuffered by the flames, himſelf, his wife, and eight children, being ſcalped and burnt in it.

Tedious and ſhocking would it be to enumerate half the murders, conflagrations and outrages, committed by theſe helliſh infidels. Let it ſuffice therefore, that from the year 1753, when they firſt began their barbarities, they had murdered, burnt, ſcalped, and deſtroyed, above 3500 ſouls; above 1000 whereof were unhappy inhabitants of the weſtern part of *Philadelphia*. Men, women and children, fell alike a prey to theſe ſavages: No regard being had by them to the tender intreaties of an affectionate parent for a beloved child, or the infant's prayers in behalf of his aged father and mother. Such are the miſerable calamities attendant on ſchemes for gratifying the ambition of a tyrannic

monarch like *France*, or the weak contrivances and indolent meaſures of blundering miniſters and negociators——.

The time of my furlow at length expiring, I prepared to ſet out for my regiment. Having a recommendatory letter from general *Franklin* to major *Kinnair* as to my ſervices, I marched forward for *New-York*: Where being arrived I waited on the major, he being a worthy gentleman univerſally beloved by the whole regiment; and after giving him an account of all our tranſactions, and the hardſhips and labours we had gone through, I was diſmiſſed.

After ſome ſtay there, I was ordered to proceed on my march for *Oſwego* once more, But before I go further with my own affairs, I ſhall juſt recount the reſult of thoſe provincials, who went, as I mentioned before, to quell the ſavages, under the command of colonel *Armſtrong*.

He having under his command 280 provincials deſtined againſt the *Ohio Morians*, againſt whom nothing had been attempted, notwithſtanding their frequent incurſions and murders, penetrated 140 miles through the woods from *Fort Shirley* on *Juniata* river, to *Kittanning*, an *Indian* town on the *Ohio*, about twenty-five miles above fort *Du Queſne*, belonging to the *French*. He ſoon joined the advanced party at the *Beaver-dams*; and, on the fourth evening, after being within ſix miles of *Kittanning*, the ſcouts diſcovered a fire in the road, and reported that there were but three or four *Indians* at it. At that time it was not thought proper to attempt ſurpriſing theſe *Indians*, leſt, if one ſhould eſcape, the town might be alarmed: Lieutenant *Hogg* therefore, with twelve men, was left to watch them, with orders not to fall upon them until day-break; and our forces turned out of the path, to paſs their fire, without diſturbing them.

About

About three in the morning having been guided by the *whooping* of the *Indian* warriors, at a dance in the town, they reached the river at about 100 perches below it. As ſoon as day appeared the attack began; Captain *Jacobs* chief of the *Indians*, gave the *war whoop*, and defended his houſe bravely through the loop-holes in the logs. The *Indians* generally refuſing quarter, Colonel *Armſtrong* ordered their houſes to be ſet on fire, which was done by the officers and ſoldiers with great alacrity. On this ſome burſt out of the houſes and attempted to reach the river, but were inſtantly ſhot down. Captain *Jacobs* in getting out of a window was ſhot and ſcalped, as were alſo his *Squaw*, and a lad they called the king's ſon. The *Indians* had a number of ſpare arms in their houſes loaded, which went off in quick ſucceſſion as the fire came to them; and quantities of gunpowder, which had been ſtored in every houſe, blew up from time to time, throwing their bodies into the air.

Eleven *Engliſh* priſoners were releaſed, who informed the colonel, that that very day two batteaux of *Frenchmen*, with a large party of *Delaware* and *French Indians*, were to have joined Captain *Jacobs* to march and take *Fort Shirley;* and that twenty-four warriors had ſet out before them the preceeding evening; which proved to be the party that had kindled the fire the preceeding night; for our people returning, found Lieutenant *Hogg* wounded in three places: and learned, that he had attacked the ſuppoſed party of three or four at the fire, but found them too ſtrong for him. He killed three of them however, at the firſt fire, and fought them an hour; when, having loſt three of his men, the reſt, as he lay wounded, abandoned him and fled, the enemy purſuing. Lieutenant *Hogg* died ſoon after of his wounds.

Enough

Enough of theſe two expeditions has been ſaid; nor can I well tell which of the two was moſt ſucceſsful, both loſing more of their own men, than they killed of the enemy.

A little retroſpection again on the actions and behaviour of the *Philadelphians*, and the other provinces and places in conjuction with them, may here be ſomething neceſſary: For, when I arrived at *Philadelphia*, I found, that however melancholy their ſituation had been of late, this good effect had been obtained, that the moſt prejudiced and ignorant individual was feelingly convinced of the neceſſity of vigorous meaſures; and, beſides national and public views, then the more prevailing ones of revenge and ſelf-intereſt gave a ſpur to their counſels. They were accordingly raiſing men with the utmoſt expedition; and had, before the end of the ſummer, a conſiderable number, though not equal to what they could furniſh, having at leaſt 45,000 men in *Penſylvania* able to fight.

And, purſuant to agreement ſome months before, the four governments of *New-England*, in conjunction with *New York* (which laſt furniſhed 1300) had now aſſembled 8000 men (for the attack of fort *Frederic*) at *Albany*, 150 miles N. of *New-York*, and about 130 from *Crown-Point*, under the command of general *Winſlow*. But many people dreading the cruelty of the *French*, were not ſo very eager to join them this year as the laſt; an impreſs therefore of part of the militia was ordered in *New York* government. To prevent which, ſubſcriptions were ſet on foot to engage volunteers by high bounties; ſo loth were they that ſome got nine or twelve pounds ſterling to inliſt.

The 44th, 48th, 50th, and 51ſt regiments of *Great Britain* were deſtined for the campaign on the great lake *Ontario*, and moſtly marched for *Oſwego*, thence to be carried over in 200 great whale boats, which

which were then at the lake, and were built at *Shenectady* on *Mohawk*'s river, and were long, round and light, as the batteaux, being flat-bottomed and ſmall, would not anſwer the navigation of the lake, where the waves were often very high. They were then, at laſt, intended to attack fort *Frontenac*, mentioned before, and the other *French* forts on the lake. Upwards of 2000 batteau men were employed to navigate the batteaux, each a ton burthen, laden with proviſions and ſtores from *Albany* up the *Mohawk*'s river, then through *Oneyda* lake and river, down to *Oſwego*. There were likewiſe 300 ſailors hired and gone up from *New-York* (as I found, when I arrived there) to navigate the four armed ſhips on the lake, built there, as I have before-mentioned, the laſt year, for the king's ſervice, and two others were then building; ſmiths, carpenters, and other artifices, having gone there for that purpoſe ſome weeks before. Such were the preparations and armaments for this campaign; but how fruitleſs, to our great diſgrace, were ſoon known all over the world!

I ſhall not trouble the reader with a long account of a long march I had to take from *New-York* to *Oſwego*, to join my regiment: ſuffice it therefore, that I arrived there about the middle of *July*; but in my march thither with ſome recruits, we joined colonel *Broadſtreet* at *Albany*, and on the 6th of *May*, at the *Great Carrying-Place*, had a ſkirmiſh with the *French* and *Indians*, wherein ſeveral were killed and wounded on both ſides; of the latter I made one. Receiving a ſhot through my left hand, which intirely diſabled my third and fourth fingers; and having no hoſpital, or any conveniencies for the ſick there, I was, after having my hand dreſſed in a wretched manner, ſent with the next batteaux to *Albany* to get it cured.

As

As ſoon as I was well, I ſet forwards for *Oſwego* again. And, when arrived there, I began to make what obſervations I could, as to the alterations that had been made ſince my departure in the month of *October* preceeding. The works of *Oſwego*, at this time, conſiſted of three forts, *viz.* The *Old Fort*, built many years before, whoſe chief ſtrength was a weak ſtone wall, about two feet thick, ſo ill cemented, that it could not reſiſt the force of a four pound ball, and ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the harbour; the two other forts, called *Fort Ontaria* and *Fort George*, were each of them at the diſtance of about 450 yards from the *Old Fort*, and ſituated on two eminencies, which commanded it; both theſe, as I have already obſerved, were begun to be built laſt year upon plans, which made them defenſible againſt muſquetry, and cannon of three or four pound ball only; the time not allowing works of a ſtronger nature to be then undertaken.

For our defence againſt large cannon, we entirely depended on a ſuperior naval force upon the lake, which might have put it in our power to prevent the *French* from bringing heavy artillery againſt the place, as that could only be done by water-carriage, which is my opinion, as well as many others. If the naval force had but done their duty, *Oſwego* might have been ours to this very day, and intirely cut off the communication of the *French* from *Canada* to the *Ohio*: But if I would inſiſt on this, as the particulars require, I perhaps ſhould affront ſome, and injure myſelf, all to no purpoſe or of any beneficial ſervice to recal our former loſſes; for that reaſon, I ſhall defer enlarging on the ſubject, although, at the ſame time, I can give very good circumſtances to maintain my argument, if required.

A day or two after being at *Oſwego*, the fort was alarmed by hearing a firing; when on diſpatching

ing proper ſcouts, it was found to be the *French* and *Indians* engaging the batteau-men and ſailors, convoying the proviſions to *Oſwego*, from one river to another. On this a detachment of 500 men were ordered out in purſuit of them, whereof I was one. We had a narrow paſs in the woods to go through, where we were attacked by a great number of *Indians*, when a deſperate fight began on both ſides, that laſted about two hours. However, at laſt we gained a complete victory, and put them intirely to the rout, killing fourteen of them, and wounding above forty. On our ſide we had but two men killed and ſix wounded. Many more would have been killed of both parties, had it not been for the thickneſs of the woods.

I cannot here omit recounting a moſt ſingular tranſaction that happened during this my ſecond time of being there, which, though ſcarce credible, is abſolutely true, and can be teſtified by hundreds, who know, and have often ſeen the man; in ſhort, one *Moglaſky* of the 50th regiment, an *Iriſhman*, being placed as centinel over the rum which had arrived, and being curious to know its goodneſs, pierced the caſk, and drank till he was quite intoxicated; when, not knowing what he did, he rambled from his poſt, and fell aſleep a good way from the garriſon. An *Indian* ſkulking that way for prey, (as is conjectured) found him, and made free with his ſcalp, which he plucked and carried off. The ſerjeant in the morning, finding him proſtrate on his face, and ſeeing his ſcalp off, imagined him to be dead; but on his nearer approach, and raiſing him from the ground, the fellow awaked from the ſound ſleep he had been in, and aſked the ſerjeant what he wanted. The ſerjeant, quite ſurprized at the ſtrange behaviour of the fellow, interrogated him, how he came there in that condition? He replied, *He could not tell; but that he had got very drunk, and ram-*

rambled he knew not whither. The ſerjeant adviſed him to prepare for death, not having many hours to live, as he had loſt his ſcalp. *Arrah, my dear, now* (cries he) *and are you joking me?* for he really knew nothing of his being ſerved in the manner he was, and would not believe any accident had happened him, until ſeeing his clothes bloody, he felt his head, and found it to be too true, as well as having a cut from his mouth to his ear. He was immediately carried before the governor, who aſking him, how he came to leave his poſt? He replied, *That being very thirſty, he had broached a caſk of rum, and drank about a pint, which made him drunk; but if his honour would forgive him, he'd never be guilty of the like again.* The governor told him, it was very probable he never would, as he was now no better than a dead man. However, the ſurgeons dreſſed his head there, as well as they could, and then ſent him in a batteau to *Albany*, where he was perfectly cured; and to the great ſurprize of every body, was living when I left the country. This, though ſo extraordinary and unparallelled an affair, I aver to be true; having ſeveral times ſeen the man after this accident happened to him. How his life was preſerved ſeems a miracle, as no inſtance of the like was ever known.

I had forgot to mention, That before I left *Albany* the laſt time, upon colonel *Broadſtreet*'s arrival there, in his way to *Oſwego*, with the proviſions and forces, conſiſting of about 500 whale boats and batteaux, intended for the campaign on the great lake *Ontario*, mentioned before; I joined his corps, and proceeded on with the batteaux, &c.

Going up the river *Onondaga* towards *Oſwego*, the batteau-men were on the 29th of *June*, attacked near the *Falls*, about nine miles from *Oſwego*, by 500 *French* and *Indians*, who killed and wounded 74 of our men, before we could get on ſhore,

ſhore, which, as ſoon as we did, the *French* were routed, with the loſs of 130 men killed, and ſeveral wounded, whom we took priſoners.

Had we known of their lying in ambuſh, or of their intent to attack us, the victory would have been much more compleat on our ſide, as the troops colonel *Broadſtreet* commanded, were regular, well diſciplined, and in tolerable health, whereas the *French*, by a long paſſage at ſea and living hard after their arrival at *Canada*, were much harraſſed and fatigued.

However, we got all ſafe to *Oſwego* with the batteaux and proviſions, together with rigging and ſtores for the large veſſels, excepting twenty four cannon, ſix pounders, that were then at the *Great Carrying-Place*; which colonel *Broadſtreet* was to bring with him, upon his next paſſage, from *Schenectady*; to which place, as ſoon as he had delivered to the quarter-maſter all the ſtores under his care, he was ordered to return with the batteaux and men to receive the orders of major-general *Abercrombie*. In his return from *Schenectady*, it was expected that *Halket*'s and *Dunbar*'s regiments would have come with him, in order to take fort *Frontenac*, and the other *French* forts on the lake *Ontario*. But, alas! as ſchemes for building caſtles in the air always prove abortive, for want of proper architecture and foundation, ſo did this ſcheme of ours, for want of a due knowledge of our own ſituation!

On the arrival of theſe forces, a new brigantine and ſloop were fitted out; and about the ſame time a large ſnow was alſo launched and rigged, and only waited for her guns and ſome running rigging, which they expected every day by colonel *Broadſtreet*; and had he returned in time with the cannon and batteau-men under his command, the *French* would not have dared to have appeared on the lake;

but colonel *Broadſtreet* happened to be detained with the batteaux at *Schenectady* for above a month, waiting for the 44th regiment to march with him: The dilatorineſs of this embarkation at *Schenectady* cannot be imputed to colonel *Broadſtreet*, becauſe general *Shirley* waited with impatience for the arrival of lord *Loudon Campbell* from *England*; and when his lordſhip landed at *New-York*, he, in a few days after, proceeded to *Albany*, where his lordſhip took the command of the army from general *Shirley*, and upon comparing, and conſidering how bad a ſituation his forces, and the different governments upon the continent were in, his lordſhip, with advice of ſeveral other experienced officers, thought himſelf not in a condition to proceed on any enterprize for that ſeaſon, no further than to maintain our ground at *Oſwego*; for which purpoſe, colonel *Broadſtreet* was immediately ordered off with the batteaux and proviſions, as alſo the foreſaid regiments; but before *Broadſtreet* arrived at the *Great Carrying-Place*, *Oſwego* was taken with all the ſhips of war, although our naval force was far ſuperior to the *French*.

Before I relate the attack of *Oſwego*, I ſhall review a little what the *French* were doing during theſe our dilatory, pompous proceedings.

The marquis de *Vaudreuil*, governor and lieutenant-general of *New-France*, whilſt he provided for the ſecurity of the frontiers of *Canada*, was principally attentive to the lakes. Being informed that we were making vaſt preparations at *Oſwego* for attacking *Niagara* and *Frontenac*, he took and razed, in the month of *March*, the fort where we had formed our principal magazine, and in *June* following deſtroyed, on the river of *Chonegan* or *Oſwego*, ſome of our veſſels, and made ſome priſoners. The ſucceſs of theſe two expeditions encouraged him to act offenſively, and to attack us at

Oſwego

Oſwego. This ſettlement they pretended, and ſtill inſiſt on, to be an incroachment, or invaſion, which we had made in a time of profound peace, and againſt which, they ſaid, they had continually remonſtrated, during our blundering, negotiating *Lawyer*'s reſidence at *France*. It was at firſt, ſay they, only a fortified magazine; but in order to avail themſelves of its advantageous ſituation in the centre almoſt of the *French* colonies, the *Engliſh* added, from time to time, ſeveral new works, and made it conſiſt of three forts, as above deſcribed.

The troops deſigned for this expedition by the *French* amounted to near 5000 men, 1300 of which were regulars. To prevent his deſign being diſcovered, M. de *Vaudreuil* pretended, in order the better to deceive us, who had ſo long before been blind, that he was providing only for the ſecurity of *Niagara* and *Frontenac*. The marquis de *Montcalm*, who commanded on this occaſion, arrived the 29th of *July* at fort *Frontenac*; and having given the neceſſary directions for ſecuring his retreat, in caſe it ſhould have been rendered inevitable, by a ſuperior force; ſent out two veſſels, one of twelve, and the other of ſixteen guns, to cruize off *Oſwego*, and poſted a chain of *Canadians* and *Indians* on the road between *Oſwego* and *Albany*, to intercept our couriers. All the forces, and the veſſels, with the artillery and ſtores, being arrived in the bay of *Nixoure*, the place of general rendezvous, the Marquis de *Montcalm* ordered his advance guard to proceed to a creek, called *Anſe aux Cabannes*, three leagues from *Oſwego*. But,——

To carry on this account the more accurate and intelligible to the reader, I ſhall recite the actions of the *French* and ourſelves together, as a more clear and ſuccinct manner of making thoſe unacquainted with the art of war, more ſenſible of this important affair.

Colonel *Mercer*, who was then commanding officer of the garriſon at *Oſwego*, having on the ſixth of *Auguſt*, intelligence of a large encampment of *French* and *Indians*, about twelve miles off, diſpatched one of the ſchooners, with an account of it to captain *Bradley*, who was then on a cruize with the large brigantine and two ſloops; at the ſame time, deſired him to cruize as far to the eaſtward as he could, and to endeavour to prevent the approach of the *French* on the lake; but meeting the next day with a ſmall gale of wind, the large brigantine was drove on ſhore near *Oſwego*, in attempting to get into the harbour; of which misfortune, the *Indians* immediately gave M. de *Montcalm*, the *French* general, notice, who took that opportunity of tranſporting his heavy cannon to about a mile and a half of the fort, which he could not otherwiſe have done, had not there been ſome neglect on our ſide.

For on the 10th, the firſt diviſion of the *French* being arrived at *Anſe aux Cabannes*, at two o'clock in the morning; the van-guard proceeded at four in the afternoon by land, acroſs woods, to another creek within half a league of *Oſwego*, in order to favour the debarkation. At midnight their firſt diviſion repaired to this creek, and there erected a battery on the lake *Ontario*.

Colonel *Mercer*, in the morning of the 10th, on ſome canoes being ſeen to the eaſtward, ſent out the ſmall ſchooner to make diſcovery of what they were; ſhe was ſcarce half a mile from the fort, before ſhe diſcovered a very large encampment, cloſe under the oppoſite point, being the firſt diviſion of the *French* troops abovementioned. On this, the two ſloops (the large brigantine being ſtill on ſhore) were ſent out with orders, if poſſible, to annoy the enemy; but this was to no purpoſe; the enemy's cannon being large and well pointed, hulled the veſſels

veſſels almoſt every ſhot, while theirs fell ſhort of the ſhore.

This day and the next, the enemy were employed in making gabions, fauciſſons, and faſcines, and in cutting a road croſs the woods, from the place of landing, to the place where the trenches were to be opened; and, the ſecond diviſion of the enemy arriving on the 11th, in the morning, with the artillery and proviſions, the ſame immediately landed without any oppoſition. Tho' diſpoſitions were made for opening the trenches on the 10th at night, it was midnight before they could begin the trench, which was rather a parallel of about 100 *Toiſes** in front, and opened at the diſtance of 90 Toiſes from the foſs of fort *Ontario*, in ground embarraſſed with trunks of trees.

About five in the morning of the 11th, this parallel was finiſhed, and the workmen began to erect the batteries. Thus was the place inveſted by about 5000 men, and thirty-two pieces of cannon, from twelve to eighteen pounders, beſides ſeveral large braſs mortars and hoyets, (among which artillery was part of general *Braddock*'s.) About noon they began the attack of fort *Ontario*, with ſmall arms, which was briſkly returned. All this day the garriſon was employed on the Weſt ſide of the river, in repairing the batteries on the ſouth ſide of the *Old Fort*.

The next morning, (the 12th), at day-break, a large number of *French* batteaux were diſcovered on the lake, in their way to join the enemy's camp; on which, colonel *Mercer* ordered the two ſloops to be again ſent out, with directions to get between the batteaux and the camp; but before our veſſels came up, the batteaux had ſecured themſelves under the fire of their cannon.

* A *Toiſe* is a *French* meaſure, and contains about two fathom or ſix feet in length.

In the evening, a detachment was made of 100 men of the 50th (general *Pepperell*'s) regiment, and 126 of the *New-Jerſey* provincials, under the command of colonel *Schuyler*, to take poſſeſſion of the fort on the hill, to the Weſtward of the *Old-Fort*, and under the direction of the engineer, Mr. *M'Keller*, were to put it into the beſt ſtate of defence they could; in which work, they were employed all the following night.

The enemy on the Eaſt-ſide continued their approaches to the fort *Ontario*, but with their utmoſt efforts for a long time they could not bring their cannon to bear on it. However, drawing their cannon with great expedition, next morning (the 13th) about ten o'clock, to a battery erected within ſixty yards from it; they played them very hotly on the garriſon, notwithſtanding the conſtant fire kept on them, and the loſs of their principal engineer, who was killed in the trenches. A council of war was immediately held by the officers of general *Pepperell*'s regiment, who obſerving the mortars were beginning to play, concluded it moſt adviſable to quit fort *Ontario*, and join colonel *Schuyler*'s regiment at fort *George* or fort *Raſcal*; and an account of this latter battery being ſent to colonel *Mercer*, by the commandant of the enemy, ordering him to evacuate the fort, they accordingly did, about three in the afternoon, deſtroying the cannon, ammunition, and proviſions therein, and managed their retreat ſo as to paſs the river, and join the troops at the Weſt-ſide without the loſs of a man. Theſe troops being about 370, were immediately ordered to join colonel *Schuyler*, which they accordingly did, and were employed all the following night in compleating the works of that fort.

M. *Montcalm* immediately took poſſeſſion of fort *Ontario*, and ordered the communication of the parallel to be continued to the banks of the river, where,

where, in the beginning of the night, they began a grand battery, placed in ſuch a manner, that it could not only batter fort *Oſwego*, and the way from thence to fort *George*, but alſo the intrenchment of *Oſwego*.

In the morning of the 13th, the large brigantine being off the rocks and repaired, a detachment of eighty men of the garriſon was put on board of her and the two ſloops, in order to go out immediately; but the wind continuing to blow directly into the harbour, rendered it impoſſible for them to get out before the place was ſurrendered. This night, as well as the night before, parties of the enemy's irregulars made ſeveral attempts to ſurprize our advance guards and centinels, on the Weſt-ſide of the river, but did not ſucceed in any of them.

The enemy were employed this night in bringing up their cannon, and raiſing a battery. On our ſide, we kept a conſtant fire of cannon and ſhells from the *Old Fort*, and works about it. The cannon which moſt annoyed the enemy, were four pieces, which we reverſed on the plat-form of an earthen work, which ſurrounded the *Old Fort*, and which was intirely enfiladed by the enemy's battery on the oppoſite ſhore: In this ſituation, without the leaſt cover, the train, aſſiſted by a detachment of *Shirley*'s regiment, behaved remarkably well.

At day-break on the 14th, we renewed our fire on that part of the oppoſite ſhore, where we had the evening before, obſerved the enemy at work, in raiſing the battery.

The enemy in three columns, conſiſting of 2500 *Canadians* and ſavages, croſſed the river, ſome by ſwimming, and others by wading, with the water up to their middles, in order to inveſt and attack the old fort. This bold action, by which they intirely cut off the communication of the two forts; the celerity with which the works were carried on,

in

in ground that we thought impracticable; a continual return of our fire from a battery of ten cannon, twelve pounders; and their preparing a battery of mortars and hoyets, made colonel *Mercer* think it adviſeable (he not knowing their numbers) to order colonel *Schuyler* with 500 men, to oppoſe them; which would accordingly have been carried into execution, and conſequently, every man of the 500 cut off, had not colonel *Mercer* been killed by a cannon-ball, a few minutes after. The reſolution of this valiant colonel, ſeemed to be determined to oppoſe the *French* to the laſt extremity, and to maintain his ground at *Oſwego*, but his final doom came on ſo unexpectedly, that his loſs was univerſally regretted.

About ten o'clock, the enemy's battery was ready to play; at which time, all our places of defence, were either enfiladed, or ruined by the conſtant fire of their cannon; fort *Raſcal* or *George*, in particular, having at that time no guns, and ſcarce in a condition to defend itſelf againſt ſmall arms; with 2500 irregulars on our backs, ready to ſtorm us on that ſide, and 2000 of their regulars as ready to land in our front, under the fire of their cannon. Whereas,

Fort *Raſcal* might have been made a very defenſible fortreſs, lying on a hill, and the aſcent to it ſo ſteep, that had an enemy been ever ſo numerous, they muſt have ſuffered greatly in an attempt to ſtorm it. Why it was not in a better ſtate, it becomes not me to ſay, but matters were ſo.

And in this ſituation we were, when colonel *Littlehales*, who ſucceeded colonel *Mercer* in the command, called a council of war, who were, with the engineers, unanimouſly of opinion, that the works were no longer tenable; and that it was by no means prudent to riſk a ſtorm with ſuch unequal numbers.

The

The chamade was accordingly ordered to be beat, and the firing ceaſed on both ſides; yet the *French* were not idle, but improved this opportunity to bring up more cannon, and advance the main body of their troops within muſquet-ſhot of the garriſon, and prepared every thing for a ſtorm. Two officers were ſent to the *French* general, to know what terms he would give; the marquis de *Montcalm* made anſwer, that they might expect whatever terms were conſiſtent with the ſervice of his *Moſt Chriſtian* majeſty: He accordingly agreed to the following,——

Article I. "The garriſon ſhall ſurrender priſoners of war, and ſhall be conducted from "hence to *Montreal*, where they ſhall be treated "with humanity, and every one ſhall have treatment agreeable to their reſpective ranks, accord"ing to the cuſtom of war.

II. "Officers, and ſoldiers, and individuals, "ſhall have their baggage and cloaths, and they "ſhall be allowed to carry them along with "them.

III. "They ſhall remain priſoners of war, un"til they are exchanged.

Given at the camp before *Oſwego*,
Auguſt 14, 1756

MONTCALM.

By virtue of this capitulation, the garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war, and the *French* immediately took poſſeſſion of *Oſwego*, and fort *George*, which they intirely deſtroyed, agreeable to their orders, after removing the artillery, war-like ſtores and proviſions.

But, to deſcribe the plunder, havock, and devaſtation, made by the *French*, as well as the ſavages,

vages, who ruſhed in by thouſands, is impoſſible. For notwithſtanding the *Chriſtian* promiſe made by the general of his *Moſt Chriſtian* majeſty, they all behav'd more like infernal beings than creatures in human ſhapes. In ſhort, not contented with ſurrendering upon the above terms, they ſcalped and killed all the ſick and wounded in the hoſpitals; mangling, butchering, cutting, and chopping off their heads, arms, legs, &c. with ſpades, hatchets, and other ſuch diabolical inſtruments; treating the whole with the utmoſt cruelty, notwithſtanding the repeated interceſſions of the defenceleſs ſick and wounded for mercy; which were indeed piteous enough to have ſoftened any heart poſſeſſed of the minuteſt particle of humanity!

Here I cannot help obſerving, that notwithſtanding what has been ſaid of the behaviour of the officers of theſe (the 50th and 51ſt) regiments, I muſt, with the greateſt truth, give them the characters of brave, but I wiſh I could ſay, experienced men; every one of them that I had an opportunity of obſerving during the ſiege, behaving with the utmoſt courage and intrepidity. Nor, in this place, can I omit particularly naming colonel *James Campbell*, and captain *Archibald Hamilton* * who aſſiſted with the greateſt ſpirit and alacrity the private men at the great guns. But for ſuch an handful of men as our garriſons then conſiſted of, and the works being of ſuch a weak and defenceleſs nature, to have made a longer defence, or have cauſed the enemy to raiſe the ſiege, would have been ſuch an inſtance as *England* for many years hath not experienced; and I am afraid will be many more before it will, for reaſons that are too obvious.

The quantity of ſtores and ammunition we then had in the three forts is almoſt incredible. But of

* Colonel Campbell and Captain Hamilton are at preſent in Scotland, the former reſides near Glaſgow, and the latter in Edinburgh.

what

what avail are powder and ball if walls and ramparts are defenceleſs, and men inſufficient to make uſe of men? In ſhort, the *French* by taking this place, made themſelves maſters of the following things, all which were immediately ſent to *Frontenac*, viz. Seven pieces of braſs cannon, nineteen, fourteen, and twelve pounders; forty eight iron cannon of nine, ſix, five, three, nd two pounders; a braſs mortar of nine inches, four twelfths, and thirteen others of ſix and three inches; forty ſeven ſwivel guns; 23,000 lb. of gun powder; 8000 lb. of lead and muſquet ball; two thouſand nine hundred and fifty cannon balls; one hundred and fifty bombs, of nine inches, and three hundred more, of ſix inches diameter; one thouſand four hundred and ſeventy ſix grenadoes; one thouſand and ſeventy muſquets; a veſſel pierced for eighteen guns; the brigantin e of ſixteen, a gœletta of ten, a batteaux of ten, (the ſloops already mentioned) another of eight guns, a ſkirff of eighteen ſwivels, and another burnt upon the ſtocks; ſeven hundred and four barrels of biſcuit, one thouſand three hundred and eighty ſix firkins of bacon and beef; ſeven hundred and twelve firkins of meal; thirty two live oxen; fifteen hogs, and a large ſum of money in the military cheſt, amounting, as the *French* ſaid, to eighteen thouſand five hundred and ninety four livres.

On the 16th they began to remove us; the officers were firſt ſent in batteaux, and two hundred ſoldiers a-day afterwards, till the whole were gone, being carried firſt to *Montreal*, and from thence to *Quebec*. Our duty in the batteaux till we reached the firſt place, was very hard and ſlaviſh: And during the time we were on the lake or river St. *Laurence*, it appeared very eaſy and feaſible for commodore *Bradely*, had he thought proper, to have deſtroyed all the enemy's batteaux, and have prevented

vented them from ever landing their cannon within forty miles of the fort. But he knew his own reaſons for omitting this piece of ſervice beſt.

Our party arriving at *Montreal* in *Canada* on the 28th; we were that night ſecured in the fort, as were the reſt as they came in. The *French* uſed various means to win ſome of our troops over to their intereſt, or at leaſt to do their work in the fields, which many refuſed, among whom was myſelf; who were then conducted on board a ſhip, and ſent to *Quebec*, where, on arriving the 5th of *September*, we were lodged in a gaol, and kept for the ſpace of one month.

During this our captivity, many of our men, rather than lie in a priſon went out to work, and aſſiſt the *French* in getting in their harveſt; they having then ſcarce any people left in that country but old men, women, and children, ſo that the corn was continually falling into the ſtubble, for want of hands to reap it: But thoſe who did go out, in two or three days, choſe confinement again, rather than liberty on ſuch terms, being almoſt ſtarved, having nothing in the country to live on but dry bread, whereas we in the priſon were each of us allowed two pounds of bread, and half a pound of meat a day, and otherwiſe treated with a good deal of humanity.

Eighteen ſoldiers were all the guard they had to place over us, who being greatly fatigued with hard duty, and dreading our riſing on them, (which had we had any arms we might eaſily have done, and ravaged the country round, as it was then intirely defenceleſs) and the town's people themſelves fearing the conſequences of having ſuch a number of men in a place where proviſions were at that time very ſcarce and dear, they thought of ſending us away, the moſt eligible way of keeping themſelves

ſelves from famine, and accordingly put 500 of us on board a veſſel for *England*.

But before I continue the account of our voyage home to our native country, I ſhall juſt make a ſhort retroſpection on the conſequences which attended the loſs of *Oſwego*, as appeared to us and the reſt of the people at *Quebec*, who knew that part of *America*, to which this impo tant place was a ſafeguard.

As ſoon as *Oſwego* was taken, our only communication from the *Mohawk's* river to the lake *Oneida*, was ſtopt up, by filling the place at *Wood's Creek* with great logs and trees for many miles together. A few days afterwards the forts at the *Great Carrying Place*, and then our moſt advanced poſt into the country of the *Six Nations*, which I have before given a ſhort account of, (and where there were at that time above three thouſand men, including one thouſand two hundred batteaux men, and which ſtill gave the *Six Nations* ſome hopes that we would defend their country againſt the *French*) were abandoned and deſtroyed, and the troops which were under the command of general Webb, retreated to *Burnet's* field, and left the country and the *Six Nations* to the mercy of the enemy.

The *French*, immediately after the taking of *Oſwego*, demoliſhed, as is ſaid before, all the works there, and returned with their priſoners and booty to *Ticonderoga*, to oppoſe our provincial army under the command of General Winſlow, who had ſhamefully been kept in expectation of the dilatory arrival of Lord *Lowdon* from attacking *Crown Point*, while the enemy were weak, and it was eaſily in our power to have beat them

The conſequences of the deſtruction of our forts at the *Great Carrying Place*, and General *Webb's* retreating to *Burnet's* field, is now, alas! too apparent to every one acquainted with *American* affairs.

The *Indians* of the *Six Nations* undoubtedly looked upon it as abandoning them and their country to the *French*: for they plainly ſaw that we had no ſtrong hold near them, and that (by the place at *Wood's Creek* being ſtopped) we could not if we would afford them any aſſiſtance at *Onondago*, *Cayuga*, and in the *Senekea*'s country, which were their chief caſtles: That the forts begun by us in thoſe countries were left unfiniſhed, and therefore could be of no uſe to them, and which, if we had kept the *Carrying Place*, we might have finiſhed, and given them ſtill hopes of our being able to defend.

But deſpairing of our being further ſerviceable to them, thoſe *Iroquois*, who were before our friends, and ſome of the others, have indeed deſerted us, and the conſequences of ſuch their junctions with the *French* was ſoon after felt in the loſs of *Fort George* on lake *Sacrament*.

The fine country on the *Mohawk*'s river down to *Albany*, was by this ſtep left open to the ravages of the enemy, and an eaſy paſſage opened to the *French* and their *Indians* into the provinces of *Penſylvania* and *New Jerſey*, by the way of *Suſquehanna* and *Delaware* rivers, which were before covered by our ſettlements on the *Mohawks* river, and the *Six Nations*.

I ſhall here give the beſt deſcription of the *Indians*, their way of living, *&c.* in my power.

It is difficult to gueſs what may be the number of the *Indians* ſcattered up and down our back-ſettlements; but, if their own account be true, they amount to many thouſands. Be this, however, as it will, they are not to be feared merely on account of their numbers; other circumſtances conſpire to make them formidable: The *Engliſh* inhabitants, though numerous, are extended over a vaſt tract of land, 500 leagues in length on the ſea-

ſea-ſhore, and for the moſt part have fixed habitations, the eaſieſt and ſhorteſt paſſages to which, the *Indians*, by conſtantly hunting in the woods, are perfectly well acquainted with; and as their way of making war is by ſudden attacks upon expoſed places, as ſoon as they have done the miſchief at one place, they retire, and either go home by ſome different route, or go to ſome diſtant place to renew their attacks. If they are purſued, it is a chance if they do not enſnare their purſuers; or if that be not the caſe, as ſoon as they have gained the rivers, ſo dextrous are they in the uſe of their canoes, that they preſently get out of reach. It is to no purpoſe to follow them to their ſettlements; for they can, without much diſadvantage, quit their old habitations, and betake themſelves to new ones: Add to this, that they can be ſuddenly drawn together from any diſtance, as they can find their ſubſiſtence in travelling from their guns.

No people on earth have a higher ſenſe of liberty, or ſtronger affection for their relations; when offended, they are the moſt implacable vindictive enemies on earth; for no diſtance of place, or ſpace of time will abate their reſentment; but they will watch every opportunity of revenge, and when ſuch opportunity offers, they revenge themſelves effectually.

They will ſooner ſacrifice their own lives for the ſake of liberty, than humble themſelves to the arbitrary controul of any perſon whatſoever. In battle they never ſubmit, and will die rather than be taken priſoners.

Our late tranſactions in *America* teſtify, that the friendſhip of the *Indians* is to be deſired, and the only way to maintain a friendly correſpondence with them, is by making ſuch propoſitions to them as will ſecure their liberties, and be agreeable to their expectations; and not only by keeping theſe

propoſitions inviolable as well in time of peace as in time of war, but alſo renewing our treaties with them from time to time; for they are very jealous and tenacious of an affront or neglect. They are very proud, and love to be eſteemed. In time of peace, they live upon what they get of the white people, for which they barter ſkins, furs, &c. Their cloathing, and every thing elſe they want, ſuch as arms, they get in the ſame manner. In war-time, they live upon what they can procure by their gun, and if that fails, upon roots, fruits, herbs, and other vegetables of the natural produce of the earth.

They have never the foreſight to provide neceſſaries for themſelves; they look only to the preſent moment, and leave to-morrow to provide for itſelf. They eat of every wild beaſt, which they kill without diſtinction. They always prefer game to vegetables; but when they cannot get veniſon, they live on roots, fruits and herbs. They deſtroy a great deal of meat at a time when they have it in their power, and when they leave any, be it never ſuch a great quantity, it is ten to one if any of them will take the trouble to carry a pound of it, but will rather leave it behind them; yet notwithſtanding this extravagance, ſuch is their tempers, and they are ſo inured to hardſhips, that if they cannot conveniently get at food, they can, and actually do faſt ſometimes for near a week together, and yet are as active as if they lived regularly. All their ſpare time is taken up in contriving ſchemes to ſucceed in their intended expeditions. They can never be taken in a purſuit by any European. They will travel ſeventy miles a day, and continue for months together, as I have reaſon to know from experience, and they are ſure to bring their Purſuers into a ſnare if they are not wary, and have ſome Indians on their ſide to beat the buſhes. When they are overtaken with ſleep, they light a great

great fire, which prevents the wild beaſts from falling upon them; for wild beaſts have a natural averſion to fire; nor is it eaſy for an enemy to diſcover them in this condition; for the country is one continued tract of thick wood, overgrown with bruſh-wood, ſo that you cannot ſee the fire till you be within a few yards of it. They have nothing covering them from the inclemency of the weather but a blanket put upon them, ſomething in the ſhape of a Highlander's plaid.

And further, to prevent their being long obſerved by their purſuers, or to be ſeen too ſoon when they have a mind to attack any plantation, they paint themſelves of the ſame colour with the trees among which they hide themſelves.

When they are to attack a plantation they never come out till night, and then they ruſh inſtantly upon the farms, &c. and deſtroy every thing, as well men, women and children, as beaſts; then they fall to plunder, and return to their lurking-holes till another opportunity of plunder happens, when they renew their attack in the ſame manner; ſo that if ſome method is not taken to draw them into our intereſt, our colonies will be in a continual alarm, and the country will ſoon become deſolate; for no body will venture their lives to ſettle on the back parts, unleſs the Indians are our friends.

The Indian manner of fighting is quite different from that of other nations. They induſtriouſly avoid all open engagements; and, beſides ambuſcades, their principal way is buſh-fighting, in the exerciſe of which they are very dexterous; for the back-country being one continued wood, except ſome few ſpots cleared for the purpoſe of huſbandry by our back ſettlers, the Indians ſquat themſelves down behind the trees, and fire their muſkets at the enemy; if the enemy advances, then they retreat behind other trees, and fire in the ſame manner; and

as they are good marksmen they never fire in vain, whereas their pursuers seldom hit.

Notwithstanding the politic schemes of France are nearly brought to a period, yet if the Indians are not satisfied with the conclusion of a peace betwixt us and the French as to America; I mean, unless they are fairly dealt with, we shall gain but little by all our conquests; for it is the friendship of the Indians that will make Canada valuable to us. We have already more lands than we are able to manage; but the advantage, nay the necessity of keeping Canada I have already shown; and therefore I shall go on with my account of the Indians.

When last in London, I remember to have heard some coffeehouse politicians, chagrined at the devastation they made on our back settlements, say, that it would be an easy matter to root out the savages by clearing the ground. I answer, that the task may seem easy to them, but the execution of such a scheme on such a tract of land, would be so difficult, that I doubt whether there are people enough in Great Britain and Ireland to accomplish it in a hundred years time, were they to meet with no opposition; but where there is such a subtle enemy to deal with, I am afraid we should make but little progress in reducing the Indians, even allowing the country to be all cleared, there are hills and other fastnesses to which the Indians can retire, and where they would greatly have the better of every attempt to dislodge them. The only way I would advise is to keep friends with the Indians, and endeavour to prevail on them to settle in the same manner as the Planters do, which they will be the more easily brought to, if the French are excluded from Canada. For notwithstanding their wandring way of life, I have the greatest reason to believe they have no dislike to an easy life. And as they will have no temptations to murder, as they had when stirred

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up by the ſubjects of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, they will ſoon become uſeful members of ſociety.

When firſt the *Engliſh* arrived in the *American* colonies, they found the woods inhabited by a race of people, uncultivated in their manners, but not quite devoid of humanity. They were ſtrangers to literature, ignorant of the liberal arts, and deſtitute of almoſt every conveniency of life.

But if they were unpractiſed in the arts of more civilized nations, they were alſo free from their vices. They ſeemed perfect in two parts of the ancient Perſian education, namely, in ſhooting with the bow, and ſpeaking truth. In their dealings they commonly exchange one commodity for another. Strangers themſelves to fraud, they had an entire confidence in others. According to their abilities, they were generous and hoſpitable. Happy, thrice happy had they been, if, ſtill preſerving their native innocence and ſimplicity, they had only been inſtructed in the knowledge of God, and the doctrines of Chriſtianity. Had they been taught ſome of the more uſeful parts of life, and to lay aſide what was wild and ſavage in their manners!

They received the *Engliſh*, upon their firſt arrival, with open arms, treated them kindly, and ſhewed an earneſt deſire, that they ſhould ſettle and live with them. They freely parted with ſome of their lands to their new come brethren, and chearfully entered into a league of friendſhip with them. As the *Engliſh* were in immediate want of the aſſiſtance of the *Indians*, they, on their part, endeavoured to make their coming agreeable. Thus they lived for ſome years, in the mutual exchange of friendly offices. Their houſes were open to each other: they treated one another as brothers. But by their different way of living, the *Engliſh* ſoon acquired property, while the *Indians* continued in their former indigence; hence the former found they could eaſily

ſily live without the latter, and therefore became leſs anxious about preſerving their friendſhip. This gave a check to that mutual hoſpitality that had hitherto ſubſiſted between them; and this, together with the decreaſe of game for hunting, ariſing from the increaſe of the Engliſh ſettlements, induced the Indians to remove further back into the woods.

From this time the natives began to be treated as a people of whom an advantage might be taken. As the trade with them was free and open, men of looſe and abandoned characters engaged in it, and practiſed every fraud. Before the coming of the white people, the Indians never taſted ſpirituous liquors, and, like moſt barbarous nations, having once taſted, became immoderately fond thereof, and had no longer any government of themſelves. The traders availed themſelves of this weakneſs; inſtead of carrying our cloaths to cover the naked ſavages, they carried them rum, and thereby debauched their manners, weakened their conſtitutions, introduced diſorders unknown to them before, and in ſhort corrupted and ruined them.

The Indians finding the ill effects of this trade, began to complain. Wherefore laws were made, prohibiting any from going to trade with them without a licence from the Governor, and it was alſo made lawful for the Indians to ſtave the caſks, and ſpill what rum was brought among them; but this was to little purpoſe: the Indians had too little command of themſelves to do their duty, and were eaſily prevailed upon not to execute this law; and the deſign of the former was totally evaded, by men of ſome character taking out licences to trade, and then employing under them perſons of no honour or principle, generally ſervants and convicts tranſported hither from Britain and Ireland, whom they ſent with goods into the Indian country to trade on their account. Theſe getting beyond the reach of

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the law, executed unheard-of villanies upon the poor natives, committing crimes which modeſty forbids to name, and behaving in a manner too ſhocking to be related.

At every treaty which the Indians held with the Engliſh, they complained of the abuſes they ſuffered from the traders, and trade as then carried on. They requeſted that the traders might be recalled; but all to no purpoſe. They begged in the ſtrongeſt terms, that no rum might be ſuffered to come among them; but were only told they were at liberty to ſpill all the rum brought into their country. At this time, little or no pains was taken to civilize or inſtruct them in the Chriſtian religion, till at length the conduct of the traders, profeſſing themſelves of that religion, gave the Indians an almoſt invincible prejudice againſt it. Beſides, as theſe traders travelled among diſtant nations of the Indians, and were in ſome ſort the repreſentatives of the Engliſh, from them the Indians formed a very unfavourable opinion of our whole nation, and eaſily believed every miſrepreſentation made of us by our enemies. There are inſtances in hiſtory, where the virtue and diſintereſted behaviour of one man, have prejudiced whole nations of barbarians in favour of the people to whom he belonged; and is it then to be wondered at, if the Indians conceived a rooted prejudice againſt us, when not one, but a whole ſet of men, namely, all of our nation that they had an opportunity of ſeeing or converſing with, were perſons of a looſe or abandoned behaviour, inſincere and faithleſs, without religion, virtue, or morality. No one will think I exaggerate theſe matters, who has either known the traders themſelves, or who has read the public treaties.

If to this be added, what I find in the late treaties, that they have been wronged in ſome of

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their lands, what room will there be any longer to wonder that we have ſo little intereſt with them, that their conduct towards us is of late ſo much changed, that, inſtead of being a ſecurity and protection to us, as they have been hitherto, during the ſeveral wars between us and the French, they are now turned againſt us and become our enemies, principally on account of the fraudulent dealings and immoral conduct of thoſe heretofore employed in our trade with them, who have brought diſhonour upon our religion, and diſgrace on our nation? It nearly concerns us, if poſſible, to wipe off theſe reproaches, and to redeem our character, which can only be done by regulating the trade. And this the Indians, with whom the government of Philadelphia lately treated, demanded and expected of us.

At preſent a favourable opportunity preſents for doing it effectually. All thoſe who were engaged in this trade, are by the preſent troubles removed from it, and it is to be hoped that the legiſlature will fall upon meaſures to prevent any ſuch from ever being concerned in it again. This is the only foundation upon which we can expect a laſting peace with the natives. It is evident, that a great deal depends upon the perſons who are to be ſent into the Indian country: from theſe alone the Indians will form a judgment of us, our religion and manners. If theſe then who are to be our repreſentatives among the Indians, be men of virtue and integrity, ſober in their converſation, honeſt in their dealings, and whoſe practice correſponds with their profeſſion, the judgment formed of us will be favourable: if, on the contrary, they be looſe and profane perſons, men of wicked lives, and profligate morals, we muſt expect that among the Indians, our religion will paſs for a jeſt, and we in general for a people faithleſs and deſpicable.

I might here add ſome obſervations reſpecting the commodities proper to be carried among the Indians, in kind as well as quality, with a method of carrying on the trade, ſo as to preſerve the native innocence of the Indians, and at the ſame time confirm them immoveable in our intereſt; but theſe things, as well as ſome remarks I have in a courſe of years made upon the Indians, I ſhall leave for the ſubject of ſome future hiſtory.

I ſhall now proceed to give a conciſe account of the climates, produce, trade, &c. of North America. And firſt,

Of NEW-ENGLAND.

The province of New England appears to be vaſtly extenſive, being about 400 miles in length, and near 300 in breadth, ſituated between 69 and 73 deg. W. Long. and between 41 and 46 deg. N. Lat. It was firſt ſettled by the Independents, a little before the commencement of the civil wars in England: They tranſported themſelves thither, rather than they would communicate with the church of England.

The lands next the ſea in New-England, are generally low, and the ſoil ſandy; but farther up the country it riſes into hills, and on the North-eaſt it is rocky and mountainous: The winters are much ſeverer here than in Old England, though it lies 9 or 10 degrees more ſouth, but they have uſually a clearer ſky and more ſettled weather, both in winter and ſummer, than in Old England; and though their ſummers are ſhorter, the air is conſiderably hotter while it laſts. The winds are very boiſterous in the winter ſeaſon, and the North wind blowing over a long tract of frozen and uncultivated countries, with ſeveral freſh water lakes, makes it

exceſſive

exceſſive cold. Their rivers are ſometimes congealed in a night's time; the climate is generally healthful, and agreeable to Engliſh conſtitutions.

The fruits of Old England come to great perfection here, particularly peaches, which are planted trees; and we have commonly 1200 or 1400 fine peaches on ſuch a tree at one time; nay, of the fruit of one ſingle apple tree in one ſeaſon, nine barrels of cyder have been made. Engliſh wheat I find does not thrive here, within 40 or 50 miles of Boſton; but farther up in the country they have it in great plenty, and I think it comes to the ſame perfection as in Britain. Now, why wheat ſhould not grow near this city I confeſs I can aſſign no reaſon that will fully ſatisfy the reader's curioſity. The conjectures upon it are various: Some venture to ſay, that it was occaſioned by the unjuſt perſecution of the Quakers, the Independents having vented their ſpleen againſt them in a way the moſt rigorous, and in flat contradiction to the laws of chriſtianity. All other grain but wheat thrives in this place with great ſucceſs; in particular Indian corn, one grain whereof frequently produces 1200, and ſometimes 2000 grains. This corn is of three different colours, viz. blue, white and yellow.

Of NEW-YORK.

The ſituation of this province is between 72 and 76 Weſt long. and between 41 and 44 North lat. being about 200 miles in length, and 100 miles in breadth. The lands, in the Jerſeys and South part of New-York, are low and flat; but as you aſcend 20 or 30 miles up Hudſon's river, the country is rocky and mountainous. The air is much milder here in winter than in New-England, and in ſummer it is pretty much the ſame. The produce and

trade

trade of New-York and the Jerſeys conſiſt in cattle and a good breed of horſes. They have plenty of wheat and other grain, ſuch as Indian corn, buck-weed, oats, barley, and rye. It abounds alſo with ſtore of fiſh; they ſupply the ſugar iſlands with flour, ſalt-beef, pork, ſalt-fiſh, and timber planks, in return for the produce raiſed there.

Of PENSYLVANIA.

The extent of this colony is 200 miles in length, and 200 miles in breadth. The ſoil is much better than in Jerſey, chiefly conſiſting of a black mold: the country riſes gradually as in the adjacent provinces, having the Apalachian mountains on the Weſt, and is divided into ſix counties. The air, it lying in the 40 deg. of N. lat. is near the ſame as in New-York, and very healthy to Engliſh conſtitutions. The produce and merchandize of Penſylvania conſiſts in horſes, pipe ſtaves, beef, pork, ſalt fiſh, ſkins, furrs, and all ſorts of grain, viz. wheat, rye, peaſe, oats, barley, buck-weed, Indian corn, Indian peaſe, beans, pot-aſhes, wax, &c. and in return for theſe commodities, they import from the Carribee iſlands, and other places, rum, ſugar, molaſſes, ſilver, negroes, ſalt, and wine; and from Great Britain, houſhold goods, cloathing of all ſorts, hardware, &c. The nature of the ſoil in Penſylvania, the Jerſeys, and New-York, is extremely proper to produce hemp, flax, &c.

If the government of Penſylvania, ſince the death of its firſt proprietor William Penn, had taken proper methods to oblige the traders to deal juſtly with the Indians, whoſe tempers, when exaſperated with reſentment, are more ſavage than the hungry lion, theſe diſaſters might have been, in a good degree, prevented.

I intend to conclude this argument in a few words and ſhall endeavour to do juſtice on both ſides, by adhering ſtrictly to truth. Know, therefore, that within theſe late years the Indians being tolerably acquainted with the nature of our commerce, have detected the roguery of ſome of the traders, whereupon they lodged many and grievous complaints to Col. Weiſer, the interpreter between them and the Engliſh, of the injurious and fraudulent uſage they had received for ſeveral years backwards from white people, who had cheated them out of their ſkins and furrs, not giving them one quarter their value for them.

Likewiſe they remonſtrated, that whereas hunting was the chief way or art they ever had to earn a livelihood by; game was now become very ſcarce, becauſe the whites practiſed it ſo much on their ground, deſtroying their prey. Colonel Weiſer, their interpreter, adviſed them to bring down their ſkins and furrs to Philadelphia themſelves, promiſing that he would take proper care to ſee their goods vended to their advantage. Whereupon they did ſo, in purſuance of his inſtructions, and finding it their intereſt, reſolved to continue in the way he had chalked out for them; for now they were ſupplied with every thing they wanted from the merchants ſhops, at the cheapeſt rates. And thus it plainly appeared to the Indians, that they had been long impoſed on by the traders, and therefore they were determined to have no more dealings with them. This conduct and ſhyneſs of the Indians was very diſagreeable to ſeveral gentlemen of the province, who were nearly intereſted in that ſpecies of commerce.

Accordingly, in the years 1753 and 1754, ſome of the traders had the aſſurance to renew their friendſhip with them, when, inſtead of remitting them clothes and other neceſſaries as had been uſual

uſual, and were moſt proper for them, they, with inſidious purpoſes, carried them large quantities of rum in ſmall caſks, which they knew the natives were fond of, under colour of giving it them *gratis*. In this manner were the ſavages inveigled into liquor by the whites, who took the opportunity while they were intoxicated of going off with their ſkins and furrs; but the natives, recovering from the debauch, ſoon detected the villainy, and, in revenge, killed many of the traders, and went directly over to the French, who encouraged them to ſlay every Engliſh perſon they could meet with, and deſtroy their houſes by fire, giving them orders to ſpare neither man, woman, nor child. Beſides, as a farther incitement to diligence in this bloody taſk, they promiſed the ſavages the reward of 15 l. ſterling, for every ſcalp they ſhould take, on producing the ſame before any of his *moſt chriſtian* Majeſty's officers, civil or military.

Thus our perfidious enemies inſtigated thoſe unreaſonable barbarians to commence acts of depredation, violence and murder on the ſeveral inhabitants in North America in 1754, and more eſpecially in Penſylvania, as knowing it to be the moſt defenceleſs province on the continent. This conſideration prompted the ſavage race to exhauſt their malicious fury on it in particular.

Of MARYLAND.

This country extends about 150 miles in length, and 137 miles in breath. The lands are low and flat next the ſea; towards the heads of rivers they riſe into hills, and beyond lie the Apalachian Mountains, which are exceeding high. The air of this province is exceſſive hot ſome part of the ſummer, and equally cold in the winter, when the North-

weſt

weſt wind blows; but the winters are not of ſo long duration here as in ſome other colonies adjoining to it. In the ſpring of the year they are infeſted with thick heavy fogs that riſe from the low lands, which render the air more unhealthy for Engliſh conſtitutions; and hence it is, that in the aforeſaid ſeaſon the people are conſtantly afflicted with agues.

The produce of this country is chiefly tobacco, planted and cultivated here with much application, and nearly the ſame ſucceſs as in Virginia, and their principal trade with England is in that article. It alſo affords them moſt ſorts of the grain and fruits of Europe and America.

Of VIRGINIA.

The extent of this province is computed to be 260 miles in length, and 220 miles in breadth, being moſtly low, flat land. For one hundred miles up the country, there is ſcarce a hill or a ſtone to be ſeen. The air and ſeaſons (it lying between 36 and 39 of North Lat.) depend very much on the wind as to heat and cold, dryneſs and moiſture. The North and North-weſt winds are very nitrous and piercing cold, or elſe boiſterous and ſtormy: The South and South-eaſt winds, haſy and ſultry hot. In winter they have a fine clear air, which renders it very pleaſant: The froſts are ſhort, but ſometimes ſo very ſharp that rivers are froze over three miles broad. Snow often falls in large quantities; but ſeldom continues above two or three days at moſt.

The ſoil, though generally ſandy and ſhallow, produces tobacco of the beſt quality in great abundance. The people's uſual food is Indian corn made into hommony, boiled to a pulp, and comes the neareſt to buttered-wheat of any thing I can compare

pare it to. They have horſes, cows, ſheep, and hogs in prodigious plenty, many of the laſt running wild in the woods. The regulation kept here is much the ſame as in New-England; every man from 16 to 60 years of age is inliſted into the militia, and muſtered once a-year, at a general review, and four times a-year by troops and companies. Their military complement, by computation, amounts to about 30,000 effective men, the collective number of the inhabitants, men, women and children, to 100,500 and including ſervants and ſlaves, to twice that number.

Of CARLOLINA.

This colony is computed to extend 660 miles in length; but its breadth is unknown. The lands here are generally low and flat, and not a hill to be ſeen from St. Auguſtine to Virginia, and a great way beyond. 'Tis moſtly covered with woods where the planters have not cleared it. About 100 miles weſt of the coaſt, it ſhoots up into eminences, and continues to riſe gradually all along to the Apalachian Mountains, which are about 160 miles diſtant from the ocean. The North parts of Carolina are very uneven, but the ground is extremely proper for producing wheat; and all other ſorts of grain that grow in Europe will come to great perfection here. The South parts of Carolinia, if properly cultivated, might be made to produce ſilk, wine, and oil. This country yeilds large quantities of rice, of which they yearly ſhip off to other colonies about 80,000 barrels, each barrel containing 400 weight, beſides they make abundance of tar, pitch, and turpentine. They carry on alſo a great trade with deer-ſkins, and furrs, to all places of Europe, which the Engliſh receive from the Indians in bar-

ter for guns, powder, knives, ſciſſars, looking-glaſſes, beads, rum, tobacco, coarſe-cloath, &c.

The Engliſh chapmen carry theſe pack-horſes 5 or 600 miles into the country, Weſt of Charles-Town; but moſt of the commerce is confined within the limits of the Creek and Cherokee nations, which do not lie above 350 miles from the coaſt. The air is very temperate and agreeable both ſummer and winter. Carolina is divided into two diſtinct provinces, viz. North and South Carolina.

Of NOVA-SCOTIA.

This place extends about 600 miles in length, and 450 in breadth: The air is pretty much the ſame as in Old England: The ſoil is, for the moſt part, barren; but where is is cleared and cultivated, it affords good corn and paſture. Here is fine timber, and fit for building, from whence pitch and tar may be extracted. Here alſo hemp and flax will grow, ſo that this country will be capable of furniſhing all manner of naval ſtores. It abounds likewiſe with deer, wild-fowl, and all ſorts of game. On the coaſt is one of the fineſt cod-fitheries in the world. European cattle, viz. ſheep, oxen, ſwine, horſes, &c. they have in great abundance. The winters are very cold, their froſts being ſharp and of a long duration: Their ſummers are moderately hot, ſo that the climate, in the main, ſeems to be agreeable to Engliſh conſtitutions.

Of CANADA.

I ſhall cloſe the deſcription of the American colonies, with a ſhort account of the ſoil and produce of French Canada. Its extent is, according to their map, 1800 miles in length, and 1260 in breadth. The ſoil, in the low lands near the river St. Laurence

rence, will, indeed, raiſe wheat; but, withal, I found it ſo ſhallow, that it would not produce that grain above two years, unleſs it was properly manured. About 20 miles from the ſaid river, ſo hilly and mountainous is the country, that nothing but Indians and wild ravenous beaſts reſort there. However, they have plenty of rye, Indian corn, buckweed, and oats; likewiſe of horſes, cows, ſheep, ſwine, &c. But I have obſerved that fruits of any kind do not come to ſuch perfection here, as in ſome of the Engliſh ſettlements, which is owing to the long duration and exceſſive cold of their winters. The ſummer is ſhort and temperately hot. The climate, in general, is healthy and agreeable to European conſtitutions. And ſo much for the provinces in North-America.

It is now high time to return to the embarkation at Quebec. Five hundred of us, being to be ſent to England, were put on board La Renomme, a French paquet-boat, Captain Dennis Vitree commander: we ſailed under a flag of truce, and though the French behaved with a good deal of politeneſs, yet we were almoſt ſtraved for want of proviſions. One biſcuit, and two onces of pork a day, being all our allowance, and half dead with cold, having but few clothes, and the veſſel being ſo ſmall, that the major part of us were obliged to be upon deck in all weathers. After a paſſage of ſix weeks, we at laſt, to our great joy, arrived at Plymouth on the ſixth of November 1756. But theſe our troubles and hardſhips were not, as we expected, put to a period for ſome time; ſcruples ariſing to the commiſſaries and admiral there, about taking us on ſhore, as there was no cartel agreed on between the French and Engliſh, we were confined on board, until the determination of the Lords of the Admiralty ſhould be known; lying there in a miſerable condition

condition ſeven or eight days, before we received orders to diſembark, which, when we were *permitted* to do, being ordered from thence, in different parties to Totnes, Kingſbridge, Newtown-Buſhel, Newtown-Abbot in Devonſhire, I was happy in being quartered at Kingſbridge, where I met with ſuch civility and entertainment, as I had for a long time been a ſtranger to.

In about four months we were again ordered to Plymouth-Dock, to be draughted into other regiments; where, on being inſpected, I was, on account of the wound I had received in my hand, diſcharged as *incapable* of *further* ſervice; and was allowed the ſum of ſix Shillings to carry me home to Aberdeen, near the place of my nativity. But finding that ſum inſufficient to ſubſiſt me half the way, I was obliged to make my application to the honourable gentlemen of the city of York, where, on conſidering my neceſſity and reviewing my manuſcript on the tranſactions of the Indians, herein-before-mentioned, thought proper to have it printed for my own benefit, which they chearfully ſubſcribed unto. And after diſpoſing of ſeveral of my books through the ſhire, I took the firſt opportunity of going in queſt of my relations at Aberdeen, where I received very barbarous uſage and ill treatment, occaſioned by complaining againſt the illegal practice of *kidnapping*, in the beginning of my book, which I ſhall hereafter finally deſcribe in the following pages.

A DISCOURSE on KIDNAPPING.

With proper directions for tradeſmen, and others, to avoid ſlavery, when tranſported from their native country, by the inſtigation of perfidious traders.

TO make the ſubject of the enſuing pages the more accurate and diſtinct, I ſhall, in the *firſt* place, begin with the proceedings of the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen, when I arrived in that town in June 1758, after having completed the period of my ſlavery, as related in the beginning of this narrative. No ſooner had I offered this little work to ſale in that town, which was then my only mean of ſubſiſtence, than I was arraigned in a ſummary complaint at the inſtance of the magiſtrates, before their own tribunal, and carried by three or four town-officers to the bar of that tremenduous court of Judicature. The complaint exhibited againſt me contained in ſubſtance, "That I had been guilty of cauſing print, and of publiſhing and diſperſing, this ſcurrilous and infamous libel, reflecting greatly upon the characters and reputations of the merchants in Aberdeen, and on the town in general, without any ground or reaſon; whereby the corporation of the city and whole members thereof were greatly hurt and prejudged; and that therefore I ought to be exemplarly puniſhed in my perſon and goods; and that the ſaid pamphlet, and whole copies thereof, ought to be ſeized and publicly burnt." Such was the tenor of the complaint; and inſtead of allowing me an opportunity of taking advice, in time to prepare for my defence, I was hurried before them, and concuſſed by threats

of

of impriſonment to make a declaration of a very extraordinary caſt, and dictated by themſelves; bearing, that "I had no ground for advancing and uttering the calumnies, mentioned in my book, againſt the merchants in Aberdeen, *but the fancy I took in my younger years, which ſtuck on my memory, tho' I did not find that I had reaſon ſo to do; nor did I believe theſe things to be true;* and that I was willing to contradict in a public manner what I had ſo advanced, *&c.*"

After eliciting this declaration, the magiſtrates, without adjournment, "appointed me to find caution to ſtand trial on the ſaid complaint at any time when called for, and impriſoned till performance; and ordered all the copies of my pamphlet to be lodged in the clerks chamber." My books were accordingly ſeized, and myſelf committed to the cuſtody of the town-officers, who conducted me to jail, and where I muſt have lain till next day, had not my landlord bailed me out. Next forenoon the magiſtrates proceeded to ſentence on their own complaint; and accordingly they "ordained the offenſive leaves of all the copies of the ſaid pamphlet to be cut out, and publicly burnt at the market-croſs by the hands of the common hangman, the town-officers attending and publiſhing the cauſe of the burning; that I ſhould give in a ſigned declaration of much the ſame tenor with the former; begging pardon of the magiſtrates and merchants in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, and deſiring this my recantation to be inſerted in the York news-papers, or any other news-papers they ſhould think proper; and alſo ordained me to be incarcerated in the tolbooth, till I granted the ſaid declaration; and ammerciated me in ten ſhillings ſterling, under the pain of impriſonment; and immediately after to remove out of town?"

Such

Such was the ſentence of the magiſtrates of Aberdeen againſt me, every particular of which was forthwith put in execution in the moſt rigorous manner. Had theſe judges had the leaſt reflection, they muſt have been conſcious, that, in every ſtep of their procedure, they were committing the groſſeſt abuſe. The complaint was made by their order and direction, and ſerved at their own inſtigation, by which means they were firſt the Accuſers, and afterwards the Condemners. The ſubject of it was ſo irrelevant, that they muſt have been ſenſible they were proſecuting an innocent man, for relating the melancholy particulars of his life, which ought to have rendered him rather an object of their protection, than of their malice. The facts he had ſet forth in his pamphlet, relating to the original of his misfortunes, were ſo flagrant, that, had he ſued for it, he was intitled to redreſs againſt the authors of his miſeries, from thoſe very magiſtrates who now had the cruelty to aggravate them, by inflicting additional hardſhips. To pretend ignorance is a very lame excuſe. He muſt have been a very youthful magiſtrate in 1758, who could not remember ſome circumſtances of a public branch of trade carried on in 1744. It is inconceivable, that, of a whole bench of magiſtrates, no leſs than ſix in number, not one was of an age capable of recollecting what had happened only fourteen years before; nor is it to be preſumed, that, of almoſt all the inhabitants of Aberdeen, they alone, who had the beſt acceſs to know the traffick of the town, ſhould remain ignorant of a commerce, which was carried on in the market-places, on the high ſtreets, and in the avenues to the town, in the moſt public manner. Neither of theſe ſuppoſitions will eaſily gain credit. The magiſtrates are commonly of ſuch an age, and ought to be men of ſuch reflection, as to render the firſt impoſſible;

poſſible; and the ſecond, for the reaſons given above, is equally incredible. Every impartial perſon muſt therefore be perſuaded that the magiſtrates were not unacquainted with that illicit ſpecies of trade openly carried on in that city about the year 1744, and prior to that period. To prove that there was ſuch an infamous traffick, I appeal to the depoſitions of ſeveral witneſſes, ſome of whom ſhared in the calamity by the loſs of their children and other relations. Theſe I have ſubjoined, as they occur in the proof taken on my part, by way of foot notes to this treatiſe.

From theſe vouchers it appears, that the trade of carrying off boys to the plantations in America, and ſelling them there as ſlaves, was carried on at Aberdeen, as far down as the year 1744, with an amazing effrontery. It was not carried on in ſecret, or by ſtealth, but publicly, and by open violence. The whole neighbouring country were alarmed at it. They would not allow their children to go to Aberdeen, for fear of being kidnapped. When they kept them at home, emiſſaries were ſent out by the merchants, who took them by violence from their parents, and carried them off. If a child was amiſſing, it was immediately ſuſpected, that he was kidnapped by the Aberdeen merchants; and upon inquiry that was often found to be the caſe; and ſo little pains were taken to conceal them, when in the poſſeſſion of the merchants, that they were driven in flocks through the town, under the inſpection of a keeper, who overawed them with a whip, like ſo many ſheep carrying to the ſlaughter. Not only were theſe flocks of unhappy children locked up in barns, and places of private confinement, but even the tolbooth and public work-houſes were made receptacles for them, and a town-officer employed in keeping them. Parties of worthleſs fellows, like preſs-gangs, were hired

hired to patrole the ſtreets, and ſeize by force ſuch boys as ſeemed proper ſubjects for the ſlave-trade. The practice was but too general. The names of no

Depoſitions of witneſſes on the part of Peter Williamſon.

ALEXANDER KING depones, That he knew the deceaſed James Williamſon in Hirnley in the pariſh of Aboyne; That the ſaid James Williamſon had a ſon, named Peter Williamſon, whom the deponent knew when he was a boy; and he ſeeing the ſaid Peter Williamſon immediately at his emitting this depoſition, he is very ſure that he is the identical Peter Williamſon, whom he knew when he was a boy. Depones, That, ſome years before the battle of Culloden, and, ſo far as he remembers, he believes it was upwards of four years before the battle of Culloden, it was the general report of the country, that when the ſaid Peter Williamſon, the Purſuer, was a little boy, going with a clipped head, he was taken at Aberdeen, and carried to Philadephia along with ſeveral other boys. Depones, That, about that time, the Deponent had a converſation with the ſaid James Williamſon concerning his ſon Peter, who told the Deponent ſeveral times, that he came into Aberdeen ſeeking his ſon Peter, but they would not let him near hand him. Depones, That the ſaid James Williamſon told the Deponent, that his ſon Peter was in cuſtody in a barn at Aberdeen, and they would not let him ſpeak to him; and afterwards the ſaid James Williamſon told the Deponent, that the merchants of Aberdeen had carried away his ſon to Philadephia, and ſold him for a ſlave. Depones, That he heard in the country by report, that John Elphingſton merchant in Aberdeen, and one Black a merchant there, whether James or George he does not remember, did deal in that way of carrying away boys. And further depones, That the ſaid James Williamſon told him, the Deponent, that his ſon Peter was carried away without his conſent, and he ſaw the father ſhed many ſalt tears on that account.

JOHN WILSON depones, That he knew, and was well acquainted with James Williamſon in Hirnley, and

no leſs than fifteen merchants concerned in this trade, are mentioned in the proof: And when ſo many are ſingled out by the witneſſes, it is hardly to

with all his children, particularly his ſon Peter Williamſon. Depones, That the ſaid Peter Williamſon having gone to Aberdeen, as the Deponent was informed, he was carried away therefrom to the plantations; and when his father and friends miſſed him, they made ſearch for him many ways in the country, but could not find him; and the ſaid James Williamſon went to Aberdeen in ſearch of him, and, upon his return, he told the Deponent, that he had been at Aberdeen ſeeking his ſon Peter, but could not find him, and was informed that he was taken up at Aberdeen, and carried to the plantations. Depones, That he believes, when the ſaid Peter Williamſon was amiſſing, he was about eight or ten years of age, and was a ſtout boy; and the Deponent ſeeing the ſaid Peter Williamſon immediately at emitting this depoſition, he is ſure that he is the identical perſon whom he knew, before he went away, to be James Williamſon's ſon, and was at the ſaid Peter Williamſon's baptiſm.

FRANCIS FRASER of Findrack, Eſq; depones, That, about twenty years ago, he knew the deceaſed James Williamſon living in Upper-Balnacraig, in the Pariſh of Lumphanan, and that he heard the ſaid James Williamſon lived formerly in Hirnley, in the pariſh of Aboyne. Depones, He knew ſeveral of the ſaid James Williamſon's children, and he heard it was the practice of ſome of the merchants of Aberdeen, to kidnap young children, and ſend them to the plantations to be ſold for ſlaves. Depones, He heard in the country, that the ſaid James Williamſon or his wife, had gone into Aberdeen, and one of their ſons called Peter Williamſon had followed, and that James Smith ſadler in Aberdeen had picked up the ſaid Peter; and the Deponent heard he was either put in priſon, or put on board a ſhip, till the ſhip ſailed. Depones, It was the voice of the country, that James

Wil-

to be imagined it ſhould be confined to theſe only, but that they muſt have omitted many, who were either principals, or abettors and decoys in this in-

Williamſon and his wife regreted or made a clamour for the loſs of their ſon, not knowing what was become of him.

ROBERT REID depones, That, to the beſt of his remembrance, he came to Aberdeen in the year 1740, to ſee his ſiſter; that his ſiſter propoſed to the Deponent to go to a barn, to ſee the country boys who were going over to Philadelphia, and to carry home to their parents ſome accounts of them; that the Deponent accordingly went over, and heard muſic and a great noiſe in ſaid barn; but the Deponent refuſed to go in, becauſe it occurred to him, that he had heard in his own country, that many boys had been decoyed by particular artifices of merchants (and he has heard John Burnet named) to go over to America. Depones, That he was told that the number of boys in the ſaid barn, was between thirty and forty. Depones, That, ſome time after this, the Deponenent's mother refuſed to allow the Deponent to go into Aberdeen, and mentioned as the reaſon of this refuſal, that the ſon of one Williamſon, a tenant of Lord Anoyne's in Hirnley, and who lived within two miles of her, was amiſſing.

ISABEL WILSON depones, That ſhe went to Aberdeen in the year 1740, and lived there for ſeven years and a half, and that ſhe heard it frequently reported in Aberdeen, that many young people of both ſexes were decoyed by the artifices of merchants in Aberdeen, particularly John Burnet and John Elphingſton, to engage to go over to America. That ſhe once went into a malt-barn to ſee one Peter Ley, who had engaged to go to America, and might be about thirty years of age: that, upon that occaſion, ſhe ſaw the barn full of boys and men, to the number of fifty and upwards, as ſhe believes, and that they had a piper amongſt them; and that particu-

infamous traffic. Some of the witneſſes depone, that it was the general opinion, that the Magiſtrates themſelves had a hand in it. But what exceeds every

arlyſhe ſaw two young boys called Elſmies, whom ſhe knew, and who were the ſons of a widow woman there; the youngeſt of whom appeared to her to be about ten years of age, and the eldeſt about fourteen years. Depones, That after ſhe left Aberdeen and went back to her own country, ſhe has heard James Williamſon, tenant of Lord Aboyne in the town of Hirnley, frequently complain, that a ſon of his had been a-miſſing, and he did know not what became of him.

MARGARET REID depones, That, about the year 1740, or 41, ſhe heard that many young boys were decoyed by merchants in Aberdeen, particularly John Burnet, to go over to America, and that, about that time, one Peter Ley, and two brothers of the name of Elſmie, who lived in Aboyne, in the Deponent's neighbourhood, were a-miſſing, and were much regretted by their mother, and who were believed to have been carried over to America. Depones, That, in the pariſh of Aboyne, they were generally afraid to ſend their boys on errands to Aberdeen, for fear they ſhould be carried off. Depones, That ſhe did not know the age of the ſaid two Elſmies, but from their appearance, the one might be ten or twelve, and the other ſeven or eight years. Depones, That James Williamſon tenant in Hirnley of Aboyne, had a ſon who was a-miſſing, whoſe name was Peter, and who the Deponent knew very well at that time, and who, in the year 1740, might be nine or ten years of age, in the Deponent's opinion; that in that year he was ſent into Aberdeen to be under his aunt's care, his mother being dead; That ſoon thereafter he was a-miſſing, and the Deponent has frequently heard his father regret him very much, who went into Aberdeen in ſearch of him, but could not find him; and that it was the general opinion of the country, and the opinion of his father alſo, that he was carried over to America.

GEORGE

every proof, and is equal to an acknowledgment, is, that from a book of accompts, recovered on leading the proof, recording the expences laid out on-

GEORGE JOHNSTON depones, That he was ſent over to Virginia by an uncle, to be put under the care of a friend there; that the ſhip in which he ſailed was called the Indian Queen, Capt Ferguſon commander; and the ſaid ſhip ſailed from Aberdeen, and had above ſixty boys on board, under indentures to ſerve for a number of years in Virginia: That, as the Deponent has been frequently informed, many of theſe boys were engaged by different artifices to enter into the ſaid indentures without the conſent of their parents; and the Deponent particularly knows, that there were two brothers went over in the ſaid ſhip, *to wit*, James and William Sheds, the eldeſt of whom was about fifteen years of age, and the other about ſix years; that theſe two brothers were bought by one John Graham, in Quantigo Creek in Virginia; that the eldeſt ſerved out the time of his indenture, which was five years, and the youngeſt was adjudged to ſerve the ſaid John Graham until he was twenty-one years of age. Depones, That he has been well informed, that James Abernethy, John Elphinſton, and John Burnet, merchants in Aberdeen, were very much employed in engaging boys as aforeſaid. Depones, That he knows that ſix or ſeven of the boys before-mentioned, were ſold in Virginia to different maſters; one of them, named Thomas Whitehead, was ſold to the Deponent's maſter; that one of them called James Shed, the youngeſt of the two Sheds above mentioned, was ſold to a planter within three miles of where the Deponent lived; that he deſerted his maſter's ſervice, was apprehended, and whipped for ſo doing, and adjudged to ſerve for a year longer than otherwiſe he was obliged to do, he having deſerted his ſervice for the ſpace of a month. Depones, That he knows that in the year 1745, there came a ſhip from Aberdeen to Virginia, and that he was particularly acquainted with Thomas Whitehead above-mentioned, who, upon recollection, he remembers

on one cargo of theſe unfortunate objects, it appears, that no leſs than ſixty-nine boys and girls were carried over to America along with me, all of

came over a paſſenger in that ſhip, and not in the ſhip before mentioned; that the ſaid Thomas Whitehead acquainted the Deponent, that he was engaged by James Abernethy merchant in Aberdeen, to go to Virginia to ſerve there. Depones, That the boys brought over as above, and engaged to ſerve in Virginia, are in uſe to be maintained by their maſters during the time of their ſervice; and at the end of their ſervice to get 50 s. ſterling, and have no other encouragement. Depones, That during their ſervice, they are commonly very harſhly uſed by their maſters, and kept upon a very coarſe diet, ſo that they are often forced to deſperate meaſures, and to make away with themſelves. Depones, That he returned to Britain in the end of the year 1745, and ſoon thereafter came to Aberdeen; and that there ſeveral of the parents of the children that had gone over with him, came to the Deponent, and with great anxiety enquired after their children; and particularly one Helen Law aſked the Deponent about her ſon, and at the ſame time poured out a great many curſes upon the ſaid James Abernethy, for decoying young boys, and ſending them to America, and particularly her own ſon; and that this ſhe did in preſence of the ſaid James Abernethy. And depones, That the Deponent was ſent down by his maſter along with John Spriggs, to bring up the ſaid Thomas Whitehead, together with ſeverel others of the boys that came along with him, in order for ſale. Depones, That he never ſaw the Purſuer in Virginia, but has good reaſon to believe he was there, not only becauſe ſome of his neareſt relations had told him ſo, but that he himſelf had converſed particularly with him, with regard to ſeveral perſons and places there, of which he gave a juſt and true account.

ALEXANDER GRIGERSON depones, That he and another boy (whoſe name he does not remember) were coming

of whom ſuffered the ſame fate of being ſhipwreck'd, and many of them that of being ſold as ſlaves.

After

coming from the miln of Crathy, where they had been ſeeking their meat, and near to a birch-wood near to the kirk of Crathy, three country men on horſeback came up with them, but the Deponent knew none of them; and they aſked the Deponent and the other boy that was along with him, if they would go with them, and they would clothe them like gentlemen, and ſaid very kind things to them; but the Deponent, being elder than the other boy, made anſwer, That they would not go along with them; for it ſtruck the Deponent in the head, that perhaps he and the other boy were to be carried abroad, in reſpect a rumour prevailed in the country, that young boys were carried abroad at that time, Depones, That upon their refuſing to go along with the ſaid three men, they ſaid they would force them; and thereupon alighted from their horſes; and while the ſaid three men were tying their horſes to growing trees, he, the Deponent, and the other boy run away into the wood, and hid themſelves into a thick buſh, and the three men followed them, but did not find them, though they paſſed by within three yards of them; and the Deponent heard one of them ſay, "Go you that way, and I ſhall go this way, and if we can find them in this buſh, we can eaſily take them up." Depones, That he and the other boy ſtayed about half an hour in the buſh, till they found that the ſaid three men were gone away, and then he, the Deponent, and the other boy, went back to the miln of Crathy.

MARGARET ROSS depones, That, about 17 years ago, ſhe had a ſon named James Ingram, then about twelve years of age, whom ſhe ſent an errand to Aberdeen, and who at that time was taken up by Alexander Gray merchant in Aberdeen, in order to be carried to the Plantations; that he was detained in Aberdeen about eight days, but had liberty to go through the town with other boys, and they uſed to go in companies beating

ing

After ſuch a demonſtration of my veracity and the mal-treatment I had formerly ſuffered, the reader, 'tis believed, cannot but reflect with ſome degree

ing the drum. Depones, that, on Sunday thereafter, ſhe came to the chapel in the Gallowgate to hear worſhip, and ſhe ſaw her ſon there, and got hold of him, and carried him home with her to Loan-head, which is about half a mile from Aberdeen. Depones, that ſhe kept her ſaid ſon at home for ſome time, until four men came out of Aberdeen for him, in the night time, while the Deponent and her huſband were in bed, and their ſon James lying at their feet. Depones, ſhe knew none of theſe four men, but they told they were come from the ſaid Alexander Gray, and wanted to carry the ſaid James Ingram into Aberdeen. Depones, that when her ſon heard them ſaying ſo, he wept and ſhed tears; and they inſiſting, cauſed him riſe out of bed, and go along with them to Aberdeen, and his father followed them, and ſhe was told by her huſband, they went to Alexander Gray's houſe. Depones, that, next day, the ſaid John Ingram, her huſband, (as he informed the Deponent) came into Aberdeen, and met with Alexander Gray, and ſought back his ſon; who ſaid to him, That, if he would pay ſeven pounds Scots, for the expence of maintaining his ſon while he was with Alexander Gray, in that caſe he ſhould get back his ſon; but their circumſtances could not allow them to pay the ſaid ſeven pounds. Depones, that thereafter ſhe came into Aberdeen, and met with Provoſt Aberdeen, who was then provoſt of the town, and repreſented the caſe to him, and he ſent for Alexander Gray to come to the town-houſe and ſpeak with the provoſt. Depones, that when he came, the provoſt aſked him if he had a boy of the Deponent's with him; to which Alexander Gray anſwered, that he had a boy, one James Ingram; whereupon the provoſt ſaid to him, That he did not think it right to take up any perſon's child without conſent of parents: to which Alexander Gray anſwered, that the boy complained that his mother was not good to him; and the provoſt replied,

degree of indignation on the iniquitous ſentence of the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen, and commiſerate the diſmal ſituation to which I was reduced in conſequence of

ed, that a parent could not correct a child out of time, and deſired, that the Deponent ſhould get her ſon: whereupon Alexander Gray aſked who would pay his charges for maintaining the boy while he had him; at ſame time Gray ſaid, he had given off the boy to one Mr. Copland in the Gallowgate. Depones, that the provoſt ſent an officer for Mr. Copland, who could not be found that day, but the provoſt deſired the Deponent to go home, and return next day to the town-houſe, and ſhe ſhould get her ſon. Depones, that on her return, the provoſt ſent for Mr. Copland, and ordered him to give the Deponent her ſon; and he aſked who would pay the charges of him; and the provoſt replied, that when his father grew rich, he would cut ſtones for him, he being a ſtone-cutter to his employment. Depones, that Mr Copland went along with her to a barn at the back ſide of the town, where her ſon and ſeveral other boys were, the door whereof was open, and James Roſs, an officer ſtanding thereat. Depones, that ſeveral of the boys came out of the barn calling to Mr. Copland for ſhoes, and other neceſſaries that they wanted, and her ſon came to the door to her, and Mr. Copland deſired to take from him a ſtripped veſt-coat that he had given him; which was taken from him accordingly, and the Deponent put a plaid about her ſon above his ſhirt, and carried him home with her. Depones, that ſhe kept her ſon at home a conſiderable time with herſelf; thereafter he went into Aberdeen, and was taken up (as ſhe was informed) by one Lunen in Aberdeen, who went over with boys, and her ſon, a trader to the Plantations. Depones, that, before her ſon went away, he was put into the tolbooth of Aberdeen, and kept there for ſeveral weeks by the ſaid Mr. Lunen; and the Deponent went twice or thrice to the tolbooth and ſaw her ſon there, and gave him her bleſſing before he went away, and ſhe never ſaw him ſince. Depones, that when ſhe went into

Alex.

of that tyrannical deciſion. Stript at once of my all, and of my only mean of ſubſiſtence, branded with the character of a vagrant and impoſtor, and ſtig-

Alexander Gray's ſhop, who cauſed firſt apprehend her boy, to ſeek him back, the ſaid Alexander Gray took her by the ſhoulders and thruſt her out of his ſhop. Depones, that, at the aforeſaid time, when her ſon was taken up and carried away, proviſions were very dear and ſcarce, and many were difficulted to get their bread; but the Deponent and her huſband were in condition to have maintained her ſon, and never conſented to his being carried off. —— JOHN INGRAM depones conform to the ſaid Margaret Roſs his ſpouſe.

WILLIAM JAMIESON depones, That in ſpring 1741, and for ſome years before and after, the Deponent reſided with his family in the town of Old Meldrum, which he reckons to be twelve computed miles from Aberdeen: that the Deponent had a ſon named John, who was, in the ſpring 1741, between ten and eleven years of age; that, about that time, the ſaid John his ſon having been amiſſing from his houſe, the Deponent was informed by the neighbours in Old-Meldrum, the day after he was amiſſing, that they ſaw a man, whom they ſaid was a ſervant to John Burnet, late merchant in Aberdeen, who was commonly called Bonny John, with the Deponent's ſaid ſon, and two other boys much about the ſame age, travelling towards Aberdeen; aud that his ſon would be ſent to the plantations: That, in two or three days after receiving this information, the Deponent went to Aberdeen, where he found the ſaid John Burnet, who told him that he had ſeveral boys, but did not know whether the Deponent's ſon was amongſt them; but ſaid, that though he was, the Deponent would not get him back, becauſe he was engaged with him. that the Deponent upon this left Mr. Burnet, and went down about the ſhore, where he had been informed the boys were out getting the air; that when he came there, he obſerved a great number of boys, he thinks about ſixty, diverting

ſtigmatized as ſuch in the Aberdeen Journal, baniſhed from the capital of the county wherein I was born, and left to the mercy of the wide world, load-

diverting themſelves; that they were attended by a man, who, the Deponent was informed by the people of the town, was employed for that purpoſe by the ſaid John Burnet; that this man had a horſe-whip, and the Deponent obſerved him ſtriking the boys therewith when they went out of the croud. Depones, That he obſerved his own ſon John amongſt theſe boys, and called upon him; that the boy came up to him, and told him that he would willingly go home with him if he was allowed; that immediately upon this, the perſon who was Mr. Burnet's overſeer, came up and gave the boy a laſh with his whip, and took him by the ſhoulder, and carried him amongſt the reſt, and immediately drove them off, and carried them to a barn, where the Deponent ſaw them locked in by the fore-mentioned overſeer, who put the key in his pocket: that the place where the boys were ſtanding when the Deponent ſpoke with his ſon as above-deponed on, was on the ſhore, and the Deponent thinks, as far diſtant from the fore mentioned barn, as from the Writer's Court to the Nether-bow-port; that when the boys were marching up to the barn, the Deponent kept pace with the overſeer, who followed immediately after the boys, intreating of him to get liberty to ſpeak to his ſon; who anſwered him, that he ſhould get leave to ſpeak with him by and bye when they were come to the barn; but when they came there, the overſeer locked the door as above-mentioned, and refuſed the Deponent acceſs; that the Deponent never ſaw his ſon after this: that the Deponent in paſſing through the town of Aberdeen after his ſon was ſo locked up from him, was told by ſeveral trades people, and others to whom he had told the ſtory of his ſon, that it would be in vain for him to apply to the magiſtrates to get his ſon liberate; becauſe ſome of the magiſtrates had a hand in thoſe doings, as well as the ſaid John Burnet; upon which the Deponent went home. That in ſummer there-

loaded with all the infamy that malice could invent. What a deplorable ſituation this! I could not help conſidering myſelf in a more wretched ſtate,

thereafter, the Deponent came up to Edinburgh to take advice what he ſhould do in this matter, being certainly informed by the voice of the country, that the ſhip on board of which his ſon was put, had ſailed for Maryland about a fortnight or ſo after that day when the Deponent was at Aberdeen, and ſaw his ſon as before-mentioned. That after the Deponent came up to Edinburgh, he was recommended to the deceaſed Mr. William Seton writer to the Signet, who gave him a libelled ſummons againſt the ſaid John Burnet, before the Lords of Council and Seſſion, for reſtitution of the Deponent's ſon; that none of the meſſengers in Aberdeen would execute the ſummons againſt Mr. Burnet, becauſe they would not diſoblige him for any thing the Deponent could give them; which obliged the Deponent to ſend a meſſenger from Old Meldrum to Aberdeen; that the Deponent having inſiſted in this ſummons, the ſaid John Burnet applied to the late Earl of Aberdeen, who ſent for the Deponent's father, his tenant; and the Deponent's father came and carried him to the houſe of Haddo, where the Earl and John Burnet were at that time; that, at this meeting, it was agreed, that the ſaid John Burnet ſhould give the Deponent his bond to reſtore his ſon to him within the ſpace of a twelve month, under the penalty of 50 *l.* Sterling; that the Deponent did not get the ſaid bond, but that the Earl of Aberdeen promiſed that he would cauſe John Burnet grant the bond; that the Deponent thinks, to the beſt of his remembrance, this meeting was in the end of ſummer 1742; that ſhortly thereafter Lord Aberdeen died, and the Deponent having inliſted as a ſoldier, was ſent over to Flanders, where he ſerved ſome years, and upon his return John Burnet was become bankrupt, and had left the country: and the Deponent knows not whether his ſon is dead or alive, having never heard of him ſince he was carried from Aberdeen, and never got the bond before-mentioned from John Burnet.

GEORGE

ſtate, to be reduced to ſubmit to ſuch barbarities in a civilized country, and the place of my nativity, than when a captive among the ſavage Indians, who boaſt not of humanity.

Con-

GEORGE LESLIE depones, That, about the year 1742, it was the current report, that Hugh Mackie ſtabler in Aberdeen, was employed by John Burnet merchant in Aberdeen for taking up boys, that they might be carried to the plantations. Depones, That the ſaid Hugh Mackie, with a gang of five or ſix boys along with him, was at the back of the Gallowgate, where the Deponent was working as a maſon's ſervant, and they obſerving a boy coming down the ſtreet, they took hold of him: but the boy ſtruggled and got out of their grips; whereupon Hugh Mackie kicked the ſaid boy with his foot, and turned him into the loch, and the boy being hurt, was confined in the houſe of Harry Black ſtabler for eight or ten days, till he recovered; but the Deponent does not know what became of that boy afterwards. Depones, That he ſaw a parcel of boys and girls confined in a barn in the Green, before they were ſent to the plantations. Depones, That he believes they were of different ages, from ten to fifteen years.

CHRISTIAN FINLATER depones, That ſome years before the battle of Culloden, Hugh Mackie ſtabler in the Gallowgate of Aberdeen, and James Wilſon ſtabler there, were employed for taking up boys to be ſent to the plantations; and one time ſhe ſaw the ſaid Hugh Mackie driving a parcel of boys before him down the Gallowgate, with a ſtaff in his hand, and ſhe has ſeen him chaſing boys in at cloſes. Depones, She ſaw ſome boys looking out at the window of a barn in the Green, and ſhe reckons they were kept there till they ſhould be ſent to the plantations; and ſhe heard there were other places in town where boys were kept until they ſhould be ſent away. Depones, That, according to her knowledge and belief, ſome of theſe boys would have been twelve years of age, others of them thirteen, and ſome above and ſome leſs; and ſhe ſaw, among them, lads from the Highlands of the ſize of men, and women alſo; and

Conſcious of my own integrity, and fired with reſentment at the indignities poured upon me by this arbitrary decree, I was, by the advice and aſſiſtance of

the boys were generally ſtrapping boys. Depones, That ſhe heard one Mr. Copland in Aberdeen was concerned in employing Hugh Mackie and James Wilſon for the above purpoſe.

ROBERT BRAND depones, That about the month of June 1758, he the Deponent ſaw James Thomſon Dean of Guild's officer, carrying out of George Mackie's houſe (where Peter Williamſon was quartered at that time) a parcel of books, bound or ſtitched in blue paper; the Deponent does not know the number of them, but James Thomſon had his arms extended full of them. Depones, That thereafter he ſaw a ſervant-maid of George Mackie's coming down ſtairs of Mr. Mackie's houſe, after the town-officer had come out of it, and the Deponent aſked her what was the matter; and ſhe anſwered, that it was the town-officers carrying away Mr. Williamſon's books to the clerk's-chamber, where Mr. Williamſon was himſelf, and this was the ſecond burden of them.

GEORGE MACKIE depones, That two or three of the town-officers came to the Deponent's own houſe, and he ſaw them carry away all the copies of the ſaid pamphlets or books, and the ſaid Peter Williamſon was along with the officers, and they were carried to the Town-houſe. Depones, That he ſaw ſome of theſe copies drop by the way as the officers were carrying them to the Town houſe, but he does not know how many copies were ſo dropped, neither did he ſee Peter Williamſon take up any of the dropt copies. Depones, That, when Peter Williamſon was appointed by the Magiſtrates to find bail for his appearance to ſtand trial on the complaint againſt him, at the inſtance of the Dean of Guild and Procurator-fiſcal, and when he was put in priſon till he ſhould find the ſaid bail; he the ſaid Peter Williamſon,

of ſome worthy friends, induced to raiſe a proceſs of oppreſſion and damages againſt theſe my judges, before the court of Seſſion, the ſupreme tribunal of

ſon ſent for the Deponent to ſpeak to him and to bail him: Accordingly the Deponent came up the Tolbooth-ſtair, and found him confined in that part of the priſon oppoſite to the door of the Court-room, and the Deponent ſpoke to the ſaid Peter Williamſon through the bars of the door of the place where he was confined; and that the ſaid Peter Williamſon deſired the Deponent to become bail for him, and he the Deponent became bail for his appearance before the Magiſtrates, and he thinks he ſigned ſomething for that purpoſe, and thereupon the ſaid Peter Williamſon was ſet at liberty; and the Deponent had him over to his houſe, and preſented him before the Magiſtrates next day. Depones, That, after the magiſtrates had pronounced ſentence againſt the ſaid Peter Williamſon, he came over to the Deponent's houſe, and told the Deponent that he had been threatened to ſign a paper, obliging himſelf to go out of the town, and that if he did not ſign the paper, he was threatened to be again impriſoned; thereafter, the ſaid Peter Williamſon hurried himſelf away out of the Deponent's houſe in leſs than a quarter of an hour, leaving behind him ſome of his baggage, which he deſired to be ſent after him to Newcaſtle, and which the Deponent ſent to him accordingly. Depones, that he was an inhabitant of Aberdeen from the year 1740, and that about the year 1741 downward to the year 1744, it was a cuſtom for ſeveral of the merchants of Aberdeen, to carry on a trade of tranſporting young boys and women to the Plantations, of different ages. Depones, That he knew the perſons after-named were concerned in that way of trade, *viz* George Garioch, John Elphingſton, John Burnet, Alexander Gray, Lewis Gordon and Andrew Logie, all merchants in Aberdeen, and James Smith ſadler there.

JAMES RATTARY, depones, That ſome more than three years ago, the Purſuer, Peter Williamſon, was in Aber-

of juſtice. And as the Lord Ordinary was pleaſed to allow both parties a proof at large, under the ſanction of his authority, I ventured to reviſit the city

Aberdeen, and being carried before the Magiſtrates by the town officers, the Deponent, as he underſtood Peter Williamſon was a ſtranger, having been ſeveral times in company with him before that day, he went into the court houſe, where he heard the clerk and ſome of the Magiſtrates, but cannot particularly ſay which of them, challenge the ſaid Peter Williamſon for ſelling and diſtributing the pamphlet libelled, reflecting upon the merchants of Aberdeen as Kidnappers, and that they uſed very rough language to the ſaid Peter Williamſon, but he does not remember the expreſſions, not having given great attention thereto, at leaſt, the expreſſions have now eſcaped his memory. Depones, That before the Deponent left the court, he ſaw the Purſuer carried off by the town-officers by order of the court, but knows not where they carried him to, further than that next day, or the day thereafter, the Deponent happening to be in the houſe of George Mackie inn-keeper, he was informed by the ſaid George Mackie, that Peter Williamſon was obliged to leave the town; and that he, the ſaid George Mackie had become bail to preſent him to the Magiſtrates any time within ſix months, under a penalty; and that both Mackie and his wife ſaid to the Deponent, that he had been very ill uſed by the magiſtrates.

Depoſitions on the part of the Magiſtrates.

GEORGE GARIOCH merchant in Aberdeen, depones, that about the year 1740, and forward for ſome years, ſeveral of the gentlemen merchants in Aberdeen, were in uſe to indent ſervants for America; and if any young boys or girls of under-age, were ſo indented, and that any of their parents or relations came to claim them back, even after they were indented and atteſted, they were, ſo far as the Deponent knows or remembers, delivered back to their parents or relations, upon paying up what money the merchant had deburſed on their account. Depones, That he was informed, that, unleſs a ſervant was at-

city from which I had been formerly baniſhed, where, in ſpite of all the diſadvantages with which power, wealth, and influence could overwhelm me,

atteſted, their indentures were of no avail, and which was his own opinion. Depones, That ſeveral ſervants were indented in the years 1740 and 1741, at which time proviſions were ſcarce in this country; that many ſervants were turned off from their maſters, who could not afford them daily bread for their work, which forced ſundry perſons to come from the country to Aberdeen and indent; and on that account, the Deponent himſelf at that period indented ſeverals out of charity, and, for the above reaſons, believes he was the firſt, at that time of ſcarcity, that began to indent ſuch ſervants. And being interrogate by the ſaid Peter Williamſon, whether or not he employed people to go and inliſt ſuch kind of ſervants through the country; or if all the ſervants he inliſted about that period, came to the Deponent's houſe voluntarily, to be indented by him? Depones, That he never employed perſons to go and bring perſons to be indented as ſervants at his houſe, but ſuch as he indented came of themſelves, or with their companions, voluntarily to him, and that ſome of thoſe who had indented, he has afterwards diſcharged, without exacting any money of them. And being further interrogate by the ſaid Peter Williamſon, whether or not there were any boys or children from eight to fourteen years of age that indented themſelves with the Deponent, or did their parents after they were indented, come and demand them back from you after they were indented? or did you not ſend over boys of that age, after they deſired themſelves to be releaſed, or that their parents or relations had come and demanded them back? and were any of ſuch young boys or children offered up by their parents or relations to you to be indented for ſcarcity of bread, who were to your knowledge the maſters of ſuch ſervants, who diſmiſſed them as before ſaid? and whether or not did you ſell ſuch indented boys in America; for what number of years, and what ſums did you receive for them? Depones,

me, I was enabled to lead ſuch a proof, as convinced that moſt honourable and impartial bench to which I now appealed, that I had met with the high-

pones, That he never indented any boy or girl of eight or ten years of age, except when the parents of ſuch children indented with him likewiſe. Depones, That he never ſent off any boys or girls of under-age indented with him, that had been demanded back by their parents or friends. Depones, That never did he indent any boys or girls in town, without their parents conſent. Depones, That ſeveral ſervants were indented as aforeſaid by the Deponent, who told the Deponent they were turned off by their maſters for want of bread, but does not remember the names of their maſters. Depones, That he went not to America himſelf, but that their indentures were ſold there from 5 *l.* to 8 *l.* Sterling; that ſuch as were under age might be indented for five or ſix years, and ſuch as were of full age, only for four.

ALEXANDER GORDON ſhip-maſter in Aberdeen depones, That it has been a practice for to indent ſervants to be carried from Aberdeen to the Plantations in America, from the year 1735 downward to the year 1753; and that, during the foreſaid period, he has been concerned himſelf in that trade of indenting, for his own account and of his owners, ſervants from Aberdeen, and carrying them over to the American Plantations, in different ſhips commanded by him on different voyages, *viz.* in the brig Diligence, to Philadelphia, and the Ruby, to Virginia and Maryland. Depones, That he has carried over boys, but not under fourteen years of age, and that no indentures can be taken for ſervants of fourteen years of age, to continue longer than the ſervants attain the age of twenty-one years, by the cuſtom of Maryland; and that the price he generally received for ſuch ſervants in Maryland and at Philadelphia, amounted to about 10 *l.* Sterling over-head.

ALEXANDER GRAY merchant in Aberdeen depones, That it was a cuſtom nineteen or twenty years ago, and ſince, that ſeveral merchants in the town of Aberdeen, were

higheſt injury and injuſtice, and induced them to decern a ſuitable redreſs.——For the ſatisfaction of the reader the ſubſtance of this proof is ſubjoined, as before mentioned.

The

were in practice of hiring boys, girls, and other ſervants, attested before the magiſtrates of Aberdeen, or ſome other Juſtices of Peace, to be carried to America, or other of his Majeſty's Plantations, to be diſpoſed of there. *Cauſa ſcientiæ*, the Deponent dealt in that way himſelf.

HELEN LAW depones, That about the years 1740, 1741, 1742, and ſince, ſeveral of the merchants of Aberdeen were in practice to inliſt boys to be indented, to carry over as ſervants to the plantations, *viz.* George Black, Alexander Gray, George and Andrew Gariochs, Mr. Copland, James Abernethy, John Elphingſton, all merchants in Aberdeen, and Capt Robert Ragg ſhipmaſter, and James Smith ſadler there; and that theſe ſeveral merchants have employed the Deponent to furniſh diet to boys and ſervants that had indented with them. Depones, That about ſeventeen years paſt the month of May laſt, the Deponent was employed to furniſh diet to a parcel of boys and ſervants that were afterwards carried over from Aberdeen to the plantations by the ſaid Captain Robert Ragg. Depones, That there were nine of the young boys whom ſhe dieted at that time, that were never confined, but that ſeveral of the big boys and men who were threatening to run off, that were afterwards confined in priſon, or in the work-houſe of Aberdeen, for ſome ſhort time before Captain Ragg ſailed. Depones, That among the boys that were never confined, and dieted at her houſe, there was one boy named Peter M'William, who would have been upwards of twelve years of age, a long ſtowie clever boy, (by which ſhe means a growthie boy). Depones, That theſe boys came not all at one time to diet with her; ſhe began with ſome of them a little after Martinmas, and they were continuing to come to her till within a day or two before the ſailing of the ſhip in May thereafter; and that their

weekly

The following pages, when duly conſidered, will be obvious to the meaneſt capacity, as the ſubject is intirely calculated to open the eyes of the deluded.

weekly board was twenty pence a week for each, and that the boy Peter M'William was ſome weeks dieted by her. Depones, That there were four or five of thoſe boarded with her that were delivered back by the merchants to their friends, on paying the charges they had coſt the merchants. Depones, That for five weeks before the ſhip commanded by Capt. Robert Ragg ſailed from the harbour of Aberdeen, ſhe lay at the key of Tory, and the boys were carried over to the ſhip; during which ſpace the Deponent went over and hired a houſe at Tory, in which houſe ſhe made their diet, and carried it to them on board the ſaid ſhip during that ſpace; and the Deponent was informed, that the reaſon why the ſhip lay at Tory, was that ſhe was neeped, and had not water to carry her over the bar. And being further interrogate, If Peter Williamſon, whom ſhe now ſees before her, is the identical perſon that dieted at the time foreſaid with her, then named Peter M'William? Depones, That ſhe cannot ſwear that he is the ſame perſon, for ſeveral of theſe boys returned from the plantations a few years after, whom ſhe did not know again when ſhe ſaw them, by reaſon of the change in that time. Depones, that ſhe had a ſon of her own that the year before had been carried over by James Abernethy merchant in Aberdeen, whom ſhe had aſked back, and Mr Abernethy agreed at three different times to deliver him back to her, but he was reſolute to go, and went accordingly. And being interrogate by the ſaid Peter Williamſon, whether or not the Deponent was not always in uſe to aſk leave of the keepers on board of the ſhip, for the boys to come aſhore any time when they lay at Tory, and ſuch liberty was only obtained on the ſaid Helen Law's obliging her to return them back on ſhipboard? Depones, that ſhe did aſk leave of the keepers on board of the ſhip for ſome of the ſaid boys to come aſhore with her, which ſhe accordingly obtained, and did become bound to return them back to the ſhip, and

luded poor, many of whom have ſuffered tribulation for the loſs of their children, whom the ties of nature bind every chriſtian parent to preſerve and

and on her verbal obligement or promiſe, ſhe was allowed to bring ſome of them even over to the town of Aberdeen with her, and always returned them again on ſhip-board. Depones, That ſhe knows nothing about their parents conſenting to their indentures, as ſome might have had parents and ſome of them none, and ſeverals of them were begging their bread through the town. But depones, That when any of their parents and relations claimed them, they were given them by the merchants on paying their charges.

JAMES ROBERTSON ſtabler in Aberdeen, depones, That about ſeventeen years paſt the month of May laſt, the Deponent was employed by James Smith ſadler as keeper of ſeveral young boys, the youngeſt of whom would have been about ten years of age, and ſome of them ſixteen and upwards, who were indented, and their indentures atteſted by the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen, to be carried over to the plantations in America, along with other ſervants, both men and women of full age, alſo indented and atteſted by the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen, to be ſhipped on board a ſhip lying at the harbour of Aberdeen, then commanded by Capt. Robert Ragg ſhipmaſter in Aberdeen, and which ſhip was carried over to Tory, where ſhe lay and received the ſaid boys on board of her. The Deponent was ſometime afterwards employed by the ſaid James Smith to go over and ſtay on board the ſaid ſhip as a keeper of the ſaid boys and other ſervants, to the beſt of his remembrance for the ſpace of twelve or fourteen days, till the ſhip ſailed, and he went with them in ſaid ſhip out of the harbour, till the ſhip was in the road before Aberdeen, from whence he returned back to the town of Aberdeen. Depones, That during the time the ſaid James Robertſon was on ſhip-board as above, there was alſo another keeper named Robert Adam along with him, employed likewiſe

and cheriſh as their own lives: For as it is abſurd to imagine that any parent, tho' in ever ſo neceſſitous a condition, would diſpoſe of their own fleſh and

likewiſe to take care of the ſaid boys and ſervants. Depones, That all the night they were confined, and put to their beds in the hold of the ſhip, but all day had liberty to go upon the deck, and even to play them aſhore, their keepers always looking after them, and ſome of them allowed to go to Helen Law's houſe to help her on board with victuals for themſelves and others. Depones, That among the boys under the Deponent's and the other keeper's care, there was a boy of about fourteen years of age, who was called Peter M'William. Depones, That Peter Williamſon, whom he ſees preſently before him, is the ſame perſon that was then named Peter M'William, as he preſently apprehends, but will not ſwear poſitively that he is the ſame perſon; for that Peter M'William had black brows, and was pock-marked, and ſo is Peter Williamſon whom he now ſees; but does not remember any boy then aboard called Peter Williamſon; and that Peter M'William was a ſtout, clever, rough loun, and very ill to guide.

JAMES SMITH ſadler in Aberdeen, depores, That, to the beſt of the Deponent's memory, about nineteen or twenty years ago, but cannot be abſolutely poſitive about the preciſe time, he was employed by John Elphingſton merchant in Aberdeen, and Captain Robert Ragg ſhip-maſter in Aberdeen, and Mr. Walter Cochran town-clerk-depute of Aberdeen, in partnerſhip with them, to make leather-caps, and pay for diet, and to pay taylors for cloathing furniſhed to ſeveral young boys and other ſervants, that had entered into indentures, atteſted before the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen, with the above-named Captain Robert Ragg, to be carried from Aberdeen to America, to be diſpoſed of at Philadelphia. Depones, That he accordingly furniſhed the ſaid ſervants with leather caps, and paid for their cloathing and diet, for all which he was afterwards repaid by the above-named

and blood to ſtrangers. who make a prey of innocent children, to accumulate their ill-gotten wealth and ſupport their grandeur, by conveying the unhappy

named gentlemen. Depones, That, among them ſervants that were ſo indented, there was one boy named Williamſon of about 12 years of age, and another boy of the ſame ſirname, of about 13 or 14 years of age, to the beſt of the Deponent's knowledge and remembrance; but depones, he does not know any of the ſaid two boys Chriſtian names. Depones, That he has not in his cuſtody any accounts or writings relative to the ſervants that were ſent from Aberdeen to the Plantations in the year 1743: But depones, that the account ſhewn to him at deponing, and exhibited by Walter Cochran town clerk depute of Aberdeen, conſiſting of twelve leaves, with a docquet on the laſt page thereof, dated 26th July 1743, is a juſt and true account, all wrote with the Deponent's hand writing; and the Deponent received from the ſaid Walter Cochran payment of the balance of ſaid account, conform to his receipt and diſcharge; and the whole of the articles in ſaid accounnt, and names therein inſert, are genuine and true as wrote by the Deponent, and which account is ſigned by the Deponent and Commiſſioner at deponing. Depones, He heard the ſhip the Planter, Captain Robert Ragg maſter, who carried ſervants for the Plantations in the year 1743, was ſtranded on Cape May.

WALTER COCHRAN town-clerk-depute of Aberdeen, depones, and produces an account, wrote book-ways, and bound in marled paper, intitled, Account Bailie William Fordyce and Company to James Smith, which account begins the third day of December 1742, and conſiſts of twelve leaves, and upon the laſt page thereof is a diſcharge by James Smith, dated the 26th July 1743, granting the receipt from the Deponent of payment of the balance of 181. 14s. 5d. Sterling, being full and complete payment of the above and foregoing accounts; and therefore diſcharging the Deponent and Company of

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happy victims to the remoteſt parts of the globe, where they can have no redreſs for the injuries done them, theſe cautions are offered to prevent their falling into the ſnare.

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all he could demand of them; upon the ſecond page of which account, there is charged a ſix-pence for a pair of ſtockings to Peter Williamſon, and five-pence for a woollen cap to ditto, as deburſed 8th January 1743; and on the third page, there is charged one ſhilling and three-pence Sterling, for five days board of Williamſon, as deburſed 13th January 1743. Depones, That he received the foreſaid account from James Smith ſadler in Aberdeen, and paid him the balance contained in the foreſaid account, and which account is ſigned by the Deponent and Commiſſioner, and produced with the report; and further adds, that the foreſaid account has been lying by the Deponent for ſeveral years paſt, he being one of the company that were owners of the ſhip the Planter, Robert Ragg maſter, who tranſported ſervants to the Plantations, and was wrecked at Cape May.

WILLIAM GIBSON carpenter in Tory, depones, That, before the 12th day of May 1743, the Deponent was hired as ſhip-carpenter to Captain Robert Ragg, to ſail a voyage from Aberdeen to Virginia, on board his ſhip called the Planter, and that there were ſhipped a number of boys, girls, and other ſervants, under indenture, as he heard; but that in their voyage their ſhip was ſtranded on Cape May; but, ſome time after, all the ſervants they carried over were ſafely recovered, and a ſloop came down from Philadelphia, and carried all of them up there.

JOHN DICKSON mariner in Stonehive, depones, That the Deponent, to the beſt of his remembrance, was engaged as a ſailor in the year 1743, to ſerve under Captain Ragg, to navigate his ſhip called the Planter, from Aberdeen for Virginia. Depones, That the

Senſible I am that what I have already ſaid againſt my firſt proſecutors, quadrates with the truth in every particular, and that many unfortunate perſons have been involved in miſery, and decoyed into ſlavery and bondage, as well as myſelf. Separated from their deareſt relations, and obliged tamely to ſubmit to the caprice and chaſtiſement of arbitrary maſters, who have leſs pity and compaſſion on them than on their very beaſts of burden. Hard fate to ſuffer all this! harder ſtill to be proſecuted for telling the intereſting tale! I ſpeak this by woeful experience, as well as from the knowledge of the hard fate of ſeveral young people, in the neighbourhood of my nativity, whether I had gone in queſt of my relations. After ſo long an abſence, my perſonal appearance muſt, no doubt, recall to the memory of my friends the manner of my being carried off in my infancy, and they muſt receive me with wonder and amazement, whom they

Depones, That the ſaid ſhip, on her arrival from London, in order to perform the ſaid voyage, lay at the pier of Tory until ſhe ſailed from ſaid river on her voyage, as the Deponent remembers, on the 12th of May 1743, and took in her cargo there, which conſiſted of ſome parcels of goods, and ſeveral ſervants, being men, women, and boys, who, he believes, were all indented as ſervants, for behoof of the contractors with them, to be diſpoſed of in Virginia: That the ſhip was, before her arrival, ſtranded to the northward of Cape May, upon a little iſland in the province of New Jerſey, where ſhe became a wreck. Depones, That how ſoon the ſhip ſtruck, ſo many of the crew took out a yoal to diſcover a landing-place, and the reſt of the crew, and ſome of the ſervants went into the long-boat, and got ſafe aſhore; and ſome of them returned with the long-boat, and brought out the reſt of the ſervants; and afterwards a ſloop came down very ſoon and carried them up to Philadelphia.

they had for many years deemed for loſt. The ſatisfaction my preſence gave them, of which they had been ſo long deprived, is not to be expreſſed, and the comfort I enjoyed in the proſpect of ſeeing my neareſt relations, was in ſome degree a ſolace for the miſeries I had undergone: But, even in this, hard fortune purſued me ſtill, and my troubles were not yet at an end. New enemies ſtarted up, who, as if the abettors of thoſe who laid the ſnare for me when a child, now contrived a new ſpecies of captivity for me, when I was a man. They begrudged me my liberty, and the freedom I took to relate my misfortunes; in order, therefore, to ſuppreſs a diſſagreeable truth, they again deprived me of it for a time; deſtroyed my means of ſubſiſtence, and loaded me with infamy and reproach; from which, thanks to the juſtice of my cauſe and the integrity of my judges, I have at laſt been honourably delivered. KIDNAPPING, a ſpecies of trade followed by theſe monſters of impiety for the luſt of gain, may be compared to the practice of the ſavages formerly mentioned, who, to gratify their propenſity to miſchief, cut, mangle, burn and deſtroy, all the innocent people they can catch. And ſurely the guilt of the kiddnapper muſt be much greater than that of the ſavage race, who boaſt not of humanity. If the latter commit ſuch crimes, it is againſt thoſe they imagine to be their enemies, for the ſake of plunder; but the former are void of all excuſe. What then can ſome of the *worthy* merchants of Aberdeen ſay for themſelves. Prompted by avarice, and deſpiſing the laws of God and all civilized nations, have they not been guilty of this attrocious crime? And does not the blood of the innocent, ſeveral of whom have died under the hands of their cruel maſters, cry againſt them for vengaence? Certain it is, that this execrable practice of kiddnapping was put in execution

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from the year 1740 and downwards, by ſeveral merchants in that city, ſome of whom, for reaſons too well known, have ſince deſerted their country. I remember that, much about that time, there were idle fellows employed by thoſe traders, to cajole and decoy, men, women and children, to ſerve in the plantations in America. The poor deluded parents, being ignorant of the nature of the traffick, and equally ignorant how or where to apply for redreſs, were obliged to rely on the fair promiſes of the merchants, whoſe deluſions proved fatal to many of the unhappy victims who were even come of age, and much more ſo to infants from ſix to fourteen years, who were incapable to contract for themſelves, and tranſported without the knowledge or conſent of their parents. Theſe were left to lament the loſs of their children; many of them without the conſolation of knowing what had become of them, and who could only imagine that an untimely end had been their fate. Such, it is to be ſuppoſed, were the dreadful apprehenſions that filled the eyes of my aged parent with tears, from whom I was thus ſeparated in my non-age. What heart can be unmoved with pity at the relation of ſo diſmal a tale? Who can think, without horror, on theſe monſters of impiety, who could make a traffick of their fellow creatures in a Chriſtian country, almoſt as openly as is practiſed on the coaſt of Guinea. *Quis talia fando temperet a lachrimis?*—And here the following queries occur, wich will tend to explain the meaning of kidnapping.

I. Whether or not, When children are either carried off by force, or decoyed by fraud, without the conſent, or without the knowledge, of their parents, in a ſtate of infancy, or under the years of pupillarity, and incapable of entering into a

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contract or indenture, may not this be called KIDNAPPING?

II. Whether or not, The ſhutting theſe Children up in priſons, or places of confinement, in order to make ſure of them as a prey, and conceal them from their parents, is not contrary to law, and an attrocious crime?

III. If theſe proceedings were agreeable to law, and the inclinations of the perſons ſo impriſoned; what occaſion was there for confinement? When a perſon inliſts himſelf in any ſervice as a voluntier, where is the neceſſity for putting him in priſon? But,

IV. If theſe proceedings were contrary to all laws, human and divine, What puniſhment can be inflicted adequate to the crime?

My Betrayers well knew the impracticability of making children abide by any obligation extorted from them, or any agreement to which they were decoyed; and therefore they confined us in barns, on board ſhips, and other convenient places; and, to make our time paſs away the more inſenſibly and free of reflection, they entertained us with muſic, cards, and other childiſh diverſions, till ſuch time as they had got their complement, and the ſhip was ready to ſail.

Various were the arts and ſtratagems made uſe of to inveigle theſe unhappy creatures. Some were inſnared by receiving a triffle of money, and then told they were fairly inliſted. Others were tempted with the bait of great promiſes, being told that they were going to a country where they ſhould live like gentlemen; that they ſhould ride in their coaches, with ſeveral negroes to attend them; that they ſhould poſſeſs large plantations of their own, and ſoon be in a condition to come home and viſit their friends with great pomp and grandeur. By theſe ſpecious and artful inſinuations, many unthinking

thinking giddy youths were ſeduced into ſlavery, relying on promiſes which were meant only to inſnare and not to inrich them. Some were carried off from their parents by violence, and whipt into the flock, like ſtrayed ſheep going to the ſhambles. All theſe methods, and many more, were practiſed in this execrable branch of traffick, of which the Reader will find a proof to his conviction, by peruſing the depoſitions formerly inſerted.

How far theſe ſpecious promiſes were fulfilled, will appear from the treatment we met with when landed in America. On our arrival there, our merchant, or ſupercargo, who had the charge of us, took the earlieſt opportunity to diſpoſe of us to the planters, ſome of whom will buy ten, others twenty, to labour in their plantations and cultivate their ground. Thus were we driven through the country like cattle to a Smithfield market, and expoſed to ſale in public fairs, as ſo many brute beaſts. When thus maltreated by our countrymen, what reaſon had we to expect better uſage from our new maſters, whoſe property we now were? Luckily for me, I fell into the hands of one of my own countrymen, who had undergone the ſame fate himſelf, and who uſed me in a more tender manner than many of my companions in ſlavery had to boaſt of. No thanks, however, to my Kidnappers; for if the devil had come in the ſhape of a man to purchaſe us, with money enough in his pockets, it would have been as readily accepted as of the honeſteſt and moſt humane man in the world. Beſides, theſe children are ſometimes ſold to barbarous and cruel maſters, from whom they often make an elopment, to avoid the harſh uſage they daily meet with; but as there is ſcarce a poſſibility of making a total eſcape, they are generally taken and brought back, and for every day they have been abſent, they are compelled to ſerve a week, for every week a month,

month, and for every month a year; they are beſides obliged to pay the coſt of advertiſing, apprehending, and bringing them back, which often protracts their ſlavery four or five years longer. But a more ſhocking caſe often occurs; ſome of theſe poor deluded ſlaves, after groaning for ſome time under the yoke of tyrany and oppreſſion, with only a diſtant proſpect of relief, in order to put an end to their bondage, put a period to their lives at the ſame time. What a diſmal reflection this, to be the inſtrument of driving an innocent helpleſs creature to deſpair, and ruining him both in ſoul and body!

The planters themſelves are generally of an idle indolent diſpoſition, not caring to fatigue themſelves with work. How ſoon therefore they can raiſe 20 or 30 l. they purchaſe ſervants from the European merchants, whom they make ſlaves, ſome for four or five, others for ſeven years. Theſe they ſend to the woods, or employ in other kinds of hard labour, and oblige them to perform a certain taſk of work in a day; in which if they fail, they are ſeverely puniſhed by their maſters, who review their work at night. Nor dare the ſervant, when he is thus chaſtiſed, preſume to vindicate himſelf, for fear of giving a new offence to this unrelenting tyrant, whoſe humour muſt be indulged, even at the expence of ſtrokes and blows. This is generally the caſe throughout the different colonies in N. America; but more eſpecially in Maryland and Virginia. Theſe two are the beſt markets to which our European merchants can reſort for the ſale of their illicit cargoes of ſlaves. Here they may barter them for tobacco, the ſtaple commodity of theſe colonies, upon which they have an immenſe return of profit.

The ſervants in Maryland are moſtly convicts, who have been baniſhed their native country for

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miſdemeanors; yet ſome of them, when their period of ſlavery is over, acquire plantations of their own, and are very expert in raiſing tobacco, and in the other branches of trade in that country. They frequently contract with their correſpondents in Europe, to ſend them over men, women and children, to be employed in the culture of their plantations: But the fallacious promiſes of the undertakers here, are ſo pernicious to thoſe whom they engage, that they generally prove their utter deſtruction. By their manner of cajolling, they induce thoſe ignorant creatures to believe, that, when they indent themſelves for four or five years, to ſerve in the plantations, they are to have high wages, to be paid annually as in their mother-country: But when theſe deluded perſons come to make the experiment, they will find it quite the contrary. Be aſſured, you will meet with no ſuch entertainment in any part of America; for you muſt ſerve your indented time, agreeable to the laws of the country, without one farthing of allowance, but at the diſcretion of your maſter; and it is well if you are furniſhed with cloaths ſufficient to cover your nakedneſs.

Beſides, you who indent yourſelves in this manner, labour under another diſadvantage; for, in that country, they are of opinion, (and a natural preſumption it is) that when men and women, come to the age of maturity, willfully and deliberately agree to tranſport themſelves as ſlaves for any number of years, they muſt have been guilty of ſome notorious crime; thoſe, therefore, who come over in this manner, are looked upon as in the black claſs of convicts, who for fear of a proſecution at home, take this ſtep to prevent a diſcovery of their vices. For ſome time, honeſt people who had engaged to ſerve in that country, ſuffered conſiderably on this account, both in their characters and for-

fortunes, as theſe renegadoes were allowed to be evidences againſt them, and to ſwear away their reputations. But this has at laſt been debarred by the laws of the country, as none are allowed this privilege, unleſs they bring along with them a certificate, ſigned and atteſted by perſons of character and repute, bearing that they were deſcended of honeſt parents, and that nothing criminal or diſhoneſt can be laid to their charge; this being approved off and recorded in the books of a court of Juſtice, the perſon's oath is then deemed legal.

From hence it appears, that numberleſs inconveniencies and diſadvantages attend the perſon, who, tho' of an age capable to diſpoſe of himſelf, by fooliſhly liſtening to the deceitful promiſes of theſe recruiters for ſlaves, at once ſtakes his happineſs, his liberty, and perhaps his life. You will perhaps be told that you are going to a country flowing with milk and honey. Theſe, it is true, are to be had in great plenty in America; but before you come to enjoy them, you will find that you muſt wade thro' an ocean of labour and fatigue, and that out of the ſweet cometh forth bitterneſs. Whereas, if you are poſſeſſed but of three or four pounds to pay your paſſage, and are of an ingenious diſpoſition, whether in mechanicks, commerce, agriculture or manufactures, you are certain not only of handſome bread, but, by moderate frugality and induſtry, of making a genteel fortune in a few years.

A

A Short HISTORY of the PROCESS between PETER WILLIAMSON and the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen.

IN the Introduction to the former diſcourſe on Kidnapping, I fairly ſtated the caſe betwixt the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen and me, without diſguiſing the truth in any the moſt minute particular. I therefore appeal to the unbiaſſed judgment of the candid Reader, whether, after the unmerited maltreatment I ſuffered from the arbitrary proceedings of theſe Magiſtrates, merely for relating a ſimple, but diſagreeable fact, I ſay, I ſubmit it, whether I was not entitled to ſue for redreſs before a higher tribunal. The motives or principles upon which they acted in the irregular proſecution againſt me, in which they were both my Accuſers and Judges, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but from the proof before inſerted, the Reader will hardly be at a loſs to form a conjecture. In order to aſcertain the power of a Magiſtracy, it is neceſſary to have recourſe to the original inſtitution of it. That liberty which the conſtitution of this country conſiders as its favourite object, is the reſult of the equipoiſe which our laws have eſtabliſhed between the authority of Magiſtrates and the rights of the people. As the relative duties of Society muſt be inforced by the Magiſtrate, and compliance with the laws exacted from the citizens, by means of his authority, all the power that is neceſſary for theſe ſalutary purpoſes, is veſted in him, and, in the due execution of it, he is not only intitled to the protection of the laws, but is an object of its veneration: Yet the ſame principles that have thus armed him with authority for the benefit of ſociety, have wiſely impoſed upon him

him a reſtraint from abuſing it. Senſible that authority improperly uſed, may become the moſt dreadful inſtrument of oppreſſion, the law has not only declared wilful malverſation in office to be a crime, but to thoſe who have ſuffered by the proceedings of Magiſtrates, whether thro' inattention or ignorance (for ignorance is never blameleſs in a Magiſtrate), it has given an action of oppreſſion and damages, for reparation of the injury the private party has ſuffered.

In this light did I conſider the harſh ſentence of the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen againſt me, *p.* 106. Had they acted, according to the eſtabliſhed forms of all courts of Juſtice, their proceedings would, at leaſt, have had ſome colour of regularity; tho' their ſentence would not have been leſs iniquous. Why was not I complained of by a party having intereſt in the cauſe? Why was not the complaint ſerved upon me, and I appointed to give in Anſwers? Why were not the legal *inducæ*, or days, allowed me to prepare for my defence? All theſe forms were neglected or deſpiſed. The Magiſtrates themſelves inſtigated the complaint; they proceeded to judge upon it without ſervice; without allowing *inducæ*, and without anſwers. It is evident, therefore, they acted not as Magiſtrates, but as private oppreſſors.

Baniſhed from the capital of the county wherein I was born, and ſtript of my all, I now bethought myſelf where or how to apply for redreſs. In this view I purſued my journey to Edinburgh; but, ignorant of the law, and unacquainted with any of its members, equally deſtitute of money and friends, and labouring under the reflections which the calumnious advertiſement publiſhed by the Magiſtrates threw on my character, I was utterly at a loſs to whom or in what manner I ſhould apply for direction. From this dilemma, however, I was ſoon relieved

lieved by the aſſiſtance of kind providence, who threw me in the way of a Gentleman verſant in the Law, a Gentleman of knowledge, character and integrity, by whoſe advice I was conducted, and by whoſe intereſt I was ſupported from the infancy to the concluſion of my Proceſs. On a fair relation of my grievances, the injuries I ſuffered appeared to him ſo flagrant, that he did not heſitate a moment to declare his opinion, That I was not only entitled to ample damages from my proſecutors, but that the Court of Seſſion would find no difficulty to award theſe, with full coſts of ſuit. It is unneceſſary here to take up the Reader's time in running over minutely the different ſteps of the Proceſs from the beginning. Suffice it to ſay, that a Proceſs of Oppreſſion and Damages was commenced at my inſtance againſt the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen, wherein the Lord Ordinary allowed both parties a proof of the facts alledged on either ſide. And accordingly a Proof was taken, partly at Edinburgh, and partly at Aberdeen, of which the Reader has ſeen a ſpecimen in the preceeding pages. I ſhall only obſerve here, that my perſonal preſence being neceſſary on this occaſion at the laſt mentioned place, I ſet out from Edinburgh for Aberdeen in September 1760, and tho' I had not the leaſt knowledge of or connection with any ſingle evidence I might bring, yet the trade of Kidnapping was ſo flagrant in that country, and had left ſuch an impreſſion on the minds of the people, that I was under no difficulty to bring a complete proof of the practice, by a number of perſons who had ſuffered by it in being deprived of their children.

And here I cannot forbear doing juſtice to the conduct of the Gentleman whom I named as Commiſſioner, to take the depoſitions of the witneſſes on the part of my Opponents. During the various ſteps of procedure in leading the Proof, wherein

I met with all the obſtructions that the malice of my enemies could throw in my way, he acted a moſt candid and ingenuous part.

After a ſhort dependence, the Cauſe at laſt came to be adviſed in courſe before the Court of Seſſion, by Memorials on the Proof; when, after hearing of parties at the bar at full length, their Lordſhips were pleaſed, on the 2d February 1762, to pronounce the following Interlocutor:

"The Lords having adviſed the ſtate of the "proceſs, teſtimonies of the witneſſes adduced, "writs produced, with the memorials given in *hinc* "*inde*, and having heard parties procurators there- "on, find the libel relevant and proven; and find "the defenders, conjunctly and ſeverally, liable to "the Purſuer in damages, and modify the ſame to "the ſum of 100 *l.* Sterling, and decern; and find "the Defenders alſo, conjunctly and ſeverally, liable "to the Purſuer in the expences of this proceſs, "and of the extract of the Decreet, as the ſame ſhall "be certified by the Collector of the clerk's fees; "for which the Lords declare the Defenders to be "perſonally liable, and that the ſame ſhall be no "burden upon the town of Aberdeen; and ordain "an account of the ſaid expences to be given in; "and ordain the accompt-book mentioned in the "State, and produced upon oath by Walter Coch- "ran, and ſigned by the Lord Preſident of this "date, to remain in the hands of the clerk of this "proceſs, till further order of the Court"

Againſt this Interlocutor the Magiſtrates preſented a reclaiming Petition, craving either to be aſſoilzied from the Proceſs; or, at leaſt, that the damages awarded ſhould be modified. To this Petition is ſubjoined the following curious letter.

Copy

Copy of a letter from William Davidſon *and* James Jopp, *late Bailies of* Aberdeen, *to* Walter Scot *Writer to the Signet.*

"SIR, *Aberdeen, February* 4. 1762.

WE are very ſorry to find, by yours of 30th paſt, that there is a ſentence pronounced againſt us in Williamſon's proceſs, whereby we are decerned to pay to him a very large ſum out of our private pockets.

We think it neceſſary to inform you, that our conduct and intentions, with regard to our ſentence againſt him, have been entirely miſunderſtood. We can with the greateſt integrity declare, That, at the time of pronouncing that ſentence, neither of us knew directly or indirectly, that Walter Cochran, the depute-clerk, was any wiſe concerned in tranſporting boys to America, or that there ever was in being the book he produced in the proof: That neither of us had ever any intereſt or concern in ſuch trade: That we never knew, and did not believe, that any men or boys were ever tranſported from Aberdeen to America contrary to law: That we conſidered the paragraph in Williamſon's pamphlet, reſpecting the merchants of Aberdeen, to be a very calumnious and reproachful aſperſion on them which they did not deſerve: That Williamſon himſelf had the appearance of being an idle ſtroller, and could give no good account of himſelf, and had procured this pamphlet to be compoſed for him, of ſuch ſhocking circumſtances, in order the more eaſily to impoſe upon and draw money from the credulous vulgar: And, upon the whole, That we had no motive of intereſt, either

on our own account, or any other perſon whatever, nor any prejudice againſt Williamſon, (having never before ſeen or heard of him), to induce us to pronounce the ſentence againſt him: That we did it purely as what we judged material juſtice, to vindicate the character of thoſe we believed to be innocent, and were unjuſtly reflected upon; and that whatever in the ſentence appears to their Lordſhips to be either oppreſſive or illegal, proceeded entirely from error in judgment, and not from any ſiniſter deſign: So that however far the ſentence has been wrong, we are ready moſt freely to make any declaration that may be neceſſary, that it proceeded from the moſt innocent intention.

Under theſe circumſtances, you will eaſily perceive, how much we were ſurpriſed on reading yours, giving account of the ſentence againſt us, and how hard a thing it is to be decerned to pay a ſum of money as a fine, for doing what we conſidered to be our duty.

You will therefore lay this before the lawyers, in order they may the better form a reclaiming petition. We muſt think our caſe very hard, if their Lordſhips don't grant us redreſs in this matter. We are, &c.

W. DAVIDSON.
JAMES JOPP."

This letter, however, did not avail their cauſe. It was in vain to deny their being in the knowledge that ſuch an illicit ſpecies of traffick was carried on by ſome of the merchants in Aberdeen, when it was done in ſo public a manner, that the meaneſt reſidenter in the city obſerved it; when the *fama clamoſa* of KIDNAPPING overſpread the whole country, ſo that the poor people, whoſe buſineſs led them frequently to town, were afraid to carry their children along with them, leaſt they ſhould be

be pick'd up, and tranſported to the plantations. In the end they inſinuate that their ſentence againſt me proceeded from an error in judgment, and not from any ſiniſter deſign, and that they were willing to make any declaration neceſſary, to evince the innocence of their intentions. But if a ſentence calculated for the ſuppreſſion of truth, and to prevent the detection of a commerce the moſt illegal and moſt deſtructive of Society, can be ſaid to proceed from no ſiniſter deſign, then every ſentence that has a tendency to ſcreen the guilty, and encourage thoſe monſters who make a traffick of the perſons and liberties of their fellow-creatures, muſt be accounted innocent. The whole of the procedure of the Magiſtrates againſt me, appears to have been directed to this ſingle end. From this view, they *firſt* cauſed the whole impreſſion of my book to be ſeized, and thoſe offenſive tell-truth leaves to be burnt, that they might not revive the memory of this villainous trade, and riſe in judgment againſt their brother Merchants. 2*do*, In order to make the ſurer work of it, they extorted from me the declaration inſerted, *p.* 106. under the terror of impriſonment; and cauſed publiſh the ſame in the News papers, in order to ſtigmatize my character, and brand me with the infamy of being an Impoſtor and a Liar. And, *laſtly*, They baniſhed me the city, leaſt I ſhould retract my declaration, and have an opportunity to ſpread the truth of my former aſſertions. Their ſchemes, however, had an effect the very reverſe of what they intended. Inſtead of ſuppreſſing the truth, their proceedings have proved the means of bringing it to light, and confirming it by indubitable evidence: and ſo opening a ſcene of the groſſeſt impiety, barbarity and wickedneſs.

To the above Reclaiming Petition, Anſwers were given in on my part, and the Lords, after re-conſidering

ſidering the merits of the cauſe, were pleaſed to adhere to their former Interlocutor.---Thus ended this proceſs of oppreſſion, carried on by a poor man, againſt the Magiſtracy of one of the moſt opulent and moſt reſpectable boroughs in Scotland.

It is the peculiar happineſs of this land of liberty to be bleſſed with a Supreme Court, wherein juſtice is diſpenſed with an equal hand to the poor and rich; wherein the cauſe of the King and the Beggar is weighed in the balance of equity and law, and decided in favours of him whoſe ſcale preponderates. Happy is that nation whoſe Judges are men of integrity, uninfluenced by power, unbiaſs'd by party, and untainted by corruption! Such become the Guardians of the liberties and properties of the people, the protectors of the innocent, the ſcourges of the guilty, the ſupporters of the weak, and the terrors of the tyrant and oppreſſor. Such are the members of that honourable tribunal to which I appealed my cauſe, who redreſſed my grievances, and allowed me ſuch compenſation for thoſe acts of violence and oppreſſion which I had ſuffered from my tyrannical proſecuters, as they, in their wiſdom, thought juſt and equitable.---Nor muſt I omit to pay a tribute of gratitude to thoſe worthy and learned Gentlemen who appeared in my cauſe at the bar, and who nobly exerted themſelves in opening up and diſplaying that ſcene of oppreſſion and lawleſs perſecution wherewith I had been harraſſed, and that without any proſpect of fee or reward. In particular I muſt acknowledge my obligations to that learned Lawyer who was aſſigned me as Council by their Lordſhips, when my circumſtances could not afford the price of a conſultation. He generouſly embarked in my cauſe, and, by the force of argument, law and eloquence, expoſed the injuſtice done me, and the weakneſs of my Opponent's reaſonings, in ſuch a light, that

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my plea became as clear as noon-day, and obvious to the meaneſt capacity.

I ſhall trouble the Reader no further on this ſubject, my chief intent in publiſhing this narrative of my Proceſs being, to warn Gentlemen in power and ſtation, not to abuſe them by a lawleſs exerciſe of their authority againſt the poor and innocent; for they may be aſſured, that power will not ſanctify oppreſſion, nor will juſtice be hood wink'd by riches. On the other hand, the weak and friendleſs need not deſpair of obtaining redreſs, though groaning under the yoke of tyrany: Let them have but the reſolution to apply to the College of Juſtice; Providence will throw friends in their way, their oppreſſors ſhall hide their heads, and the cruelties they have committed be retaliated upon them.

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